### TRAVELS

THROUGH

GERMANY.

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#### TRAVELS

THROUGH

#### GERMANY,

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SERIES OF LETTERS;

WRITTEN IN GERMAN

BY THE BARON RIESBECK.

AND TRANSLATED BY

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# LETTER I.

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WHEN you hear the king of Prussia mentioned in the southern parts of Germany, you think they are speaking of an angel of death, whose employment and amusement it is to kill the people by hundreds and thousands, to burn cities and villages, and to be the first general of his day. This opinion commonly rests upon the same ground as another, which was very generally received by the common people during the last Silesian war, you. III.

of the king of Prussia's having taken up arms against France and Austria for the extirpation of the Roman-catholic religion. Austria had often recourse to fuch little artifices: she was wont to appeal to the religious and passionate seelings of the people, whenever her troops were beaten. and probably found fome confolation in it, not that only which arises from exciting compassion. but the more substantial one of the support derived from the riches and forces of fome of the catholic princes of Germany. Such prejudices in the populace are easily produced; but when you read in the writings of some of the most famous Auftrian statesmen and literati that the king of Prussia's whole system is contrived for the purpose of making himself terrible to his neighbours, of plundering them, and of living by robbery, you do not know whether to laugh most at their ignorance, or be most ashamed at their impudence.

Out of Germany, they look upon the king of Prussia as a great general, but are not therefore blind to his other virtues. Our countrymen, whose impartiality and justice in judging of the merits of great men no body can controvert, read his civil ordinances, his bon mots, and the anecdotes of what passes in his family, with as much pleasure as they do the account of

his expeditions. Even they however, impartial as they are, form quite a false opinion of the king, when they consider his military conduct as the greatest of his exertions, and think his principal merit consists in being the greatest general of his day. It is natural enough for the love of splendid actions to make us more attentive to the bustle which has attended his fervices in the field, than to his still and benevolent occupations. But we should not therefore ascribe to him a love of this bustle, and a delight in the occupations of war, which no king upon earth likes less than he does.

Nourished in the arms of the muses, and attentive only to the progress of philosophy, scarce had he ascended the throne, when one of the most extraordinary events of this century happened, an event which must naturally call his attention very strongly to it. He was one of the many princes who had pretensions to the succession of Charles VI. What he claimed was some Marquisates in Silesia. The point was how effectually to secure these rights. Most probably he would have taken the part of Maria Theresa, attacked as she was on all sides, had a proper attention been paid to his requisitions, but the Austrian ministry, ever blinded by its own consequence, only answered his manisestoes

with insolence and contempt. The consequence was, that after having defeated the imperial troops in the field, he made free with all Silesia, which gave great offence. Then however he discovered the moderation of his nature, for it would have been easy for him, by supporting Charles VII. to have sunk a house, which was the most dangerous to him in all Europe. But his politics did not allow him to commit an injustice.

It was neither the king of Prussia's love of plunder, nor any thing indeed, except the pride of the Austrian ministry, and the little knowledge it had of the strength of the Prussian dominions, that was the true cause of the loss of Silesia. The Austrians despised a court which had no princes and dukes in its pay, but only merchants and Knights à quaranto Ecus\* for ministers and generals. They saw no further than the outlide of the court of the present king's father, who, under the mask of a ridiculous fingularity, had laid the foundation of the Prussian greatness; they laughed at his unpowdered hair, his dirty boots, his turnep dinners, and his tall men. People knew not that thefe tall men, whom they looked upon only as his particular amusement, were under the best

of discipline; they knew not that his unbetitled and unbestringed ministers were the most enlightened patriots; that the most exact œconomy had made the small country of Prussia richer than the proud and mighty Austria. In fine, they knew not that Spartan œconomy, and Spartan fubordination, which this ridiculous king was making the characteristic of the nation, must get the better of indolence, effeminacy, and profusion, even though the tribe of gentlemen had not been fo numerous in Austria, as it was.

This ignorance was the true thing which some persons have affected to call the good fortune of the present king of Prussia.

The invasion of Bohemia, which took place fome time after the conquest of Silesia, was undertaken in consequence of the most pressing and repeated inftances of the emperor, the head of the German empire, of which the king was a member.

I have converfed with an old and respectable Dutch officer, who accompanied count Seckendorff, as adjutant, to Berlin, when he went to defire the king to help the emperor out of the diffress which he must otherwise have funk The king was for a long time deaf to all representations and entreaties. As count Seckendorff was preffing him one day upon the parade,

parade, he shewed him a regiment which had fuffered confiderably in the first Silesian war. Behold,' fays he, 'what war costs me; this regiment has loft above half its men, and ' shall I expose my people to the danger of being fo roughly handled again ?- This is the king whom people cry out upon as a robber and tyrant !- Seckendorff, who was a greater statefman than he was a general, in vain tried all his rhetoric to carry his point, nor would any thing have induced the king again to become the enemy of Austria, but the being informed in what an unmanly manner the Austrians had behaved in Bavaria, how they had plundered the archives, robbed the nobility, laid waste the country, and carried the peafants into captivity; that in short, their known pride, their spirit of revenge, and their cruelty, gave cause to apprehend every thing for the house of Bavaria.

The king undertook to free the emperor from his distress, without hurting Austria much, and he compassed it with a moderation, which the unprejudiced part of the world still admires. He obliged prince Charles to give the emperor breathing room, by forcing him to hasten with his army from the Rhine to Bohemia. When he had done this he was quiet, and asking nothing for himself, was contented with having

done

done what equity and the share he took in the emperor's calamity required of him. It is well known what little share his love of robbery and conquest had in the breaking out of that war in which he eclipfed all that had been done by ancient or modern heroes. In the very heat of this war, in which he himself gathered so many laurels, he wrote a letter to Voltaire, filled with wifhes for philosophical quiet, and full of lamentations on the cruelties of war. Very far from being intoxicated with his fame, and untainted with any degree of the pride which filled the breaft of that Roman governor, who returning from the government of a diftant province, thought that all Italy must incessantly be filled with the praise of his administration; he asked Gellert, who sued to him for peace in the middle of the theatre of war, whether he had not heard or feen that there were three powers in arms against him; and whether he. thought it depended upon him to make Germany a present of peace! So free was he from being elated with the eclat of his wonderful arms, and so far from thinking of higher things than how to defend himself.

In this wonderful letter to Voltaire, he promises, when he shall once be quiet, to cut off the most distant pretences for war, nor to take

any concern in the politics of Europe; but to give up all his time to the improvement of his own country, amidst the bleffings of peace. This promife he has hitherto most religiously adhered to. You think, perhaps, that he did not, in the affair of the division of Poland: but he took the least part possible in that affair. The world will be aftonished, when the particulars of this business come to be known, as none has ever been so misrepresented and distorted by political motives. I collected at Vienna, fome very extraordinary documents relative to this matter, which I will communicate to you when we meet. Thus far is notorious to all mankind, that in this famous partition, the king had not a third of what fell to Russia, nor a quarter of what Austria had. A stronger proof of the king's moderation, and of his pacific disposition, it is impossible to give. Possibly the division would have been a little more equal if ever the parties had come to blows.

In the last Bavarian war, he again observed the same wonderful moderation. The cause of his taking up arms was, to restore the house of Wittelsbach to its inheritance, and to maintain the constitution of the empire; which, as a member of that body, he was bound to protect. He asked nothing for himself, and did not go a step farther than he was forced to, by the strongest necessity. No monarch ever went into the field with greater magnanimity, and greater disinterestedness, than the king of Prussia did on this occasion.—Since the twenty years he has given himself to philosophy, he has let several other occasions go by, which would not have been missed by another monarch who had had the same powers of war in hand as he had, and the warlike disposition commonly attributed to him.

No prince can manifest more regard for mankind, than what is shewn by the king of Prussia every day. He interests himself as much in the welfare of a common farmer, as in the flourishing of the greatest house of trade in his dominions. It is his greatest pride, and his greatest pleasure, to read in the yearly lifts, that the population of his country has increased. He has not been feen so cheerful for many years, as he was upon finding, by the lift given in last year, that the number of the new-born children within the year, far surpassed the number of the dead. A king who has this way of thinking, is a warrior only when necessity compels him to it. His Lacedemonian armies only ferve the purpose of enabling him to cultivate his country

in peace, and to bring his law-suits with his neighbours to a speedy conclusion. They are evidently not the end of his government, but the means; and it is only those who are contented with viewing the outside of things, and do not look into the springs of the Prussian government, who think them the great object.

Some of the Austrian writers think the king could not keep up his armies, if he did not, at certain periods, take a share in the disturbances of his neighbours, and raise out of them a sufficient revenue for the service of some years; but this is one of those affertions which it is impossible to hear without laughing.

More than half the army, as I have already told you, are foreign troops. They subsist on the produce of the country, the consumption of which is immediately connected with the progress of agriculture. Their clothes and linen are made of materials which grow in the country, so that they promote industry both by contributing to the raising the first materials, and by the working of them. Their pay likewise is is is iffued from the treasury, in such a way as greatly to assist the general circulation. After their time of service has expired, many hundreds of the foreign troops continue in the country, and so promote the purposes of agriculture and commerce

commerce; but the greatest part of the natives are always upon furlow, and work at home. Upon the whole, both industry and agriculture rather gain than lose by the army. Indeed you can call only the foreigners a standing army; for the natives are, in time of peace, as Moore has observed, a regular, well-behaved, and easily raised militia.

All the military regulations have these two ends in view; that of preventing the improvement of agriculture from fuffering by the number of troops; and that of making them fubfervient to the circulation of money. For thefe purposes the annual reviews always take place at the time of year when fewest hands are wanted for the purposes of agriculture, &c. The troops are quartered in the feveral provinces in the exact proportion of the revenue of these provinces, so that no money can go this way from one province to another. Every thing is precifely upon a par. Silefia has just as many troops more as Brandenburgh, as it has more revenue; and the other provinces in the same proportion. As the army raises near twothirds of the revenue of the state, there remains by this means more gold in the provinces than there is in any other country in Europe, where commonly the gold flows to the middle, and

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the capital grows rich at the expence of the country. Each regiment has a peculiar part of the country affigned it for recruiting, and in this, or near it, are commonly its standing quarters. By this means the troops are not only eafily got together when they are wanted, but the father has always his fon in the neighbourhood, to help him to improve his land, and at the annual review time, the latter has not far to go to join his regiment. It is inconceivable how, after this, fuch clamours can be raifed against the king of Prussia, on account of his army, and how it can be represented as hurtful to the country. Those of the foldiers who are natives, do not fpend a longer time with the army than their fellows in the English or Swiss militia's. Indeed the maritime fervice in one of these countries, and the custom of letting out troops for hire, which prevails in the other, tend to deprive them of hands to till the foil, whereas the Prussian army increases the number of cultivators.

The Prussian army consists of about 190,000 men, and costs the king yearly about 20 millions of stories, or 52 millions of our livres\*. These menare, indeed, disciplined into a state of

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<sup>\*</sup> About 216,6661.

Another observation I have made on these men is, that they are not by any means fo infenfible and fulky as they have been commonly thought to be. On the contrary, I have obferved amongst them, a great deal of good-will,

BROWN SERVICE.

and a great deal of affection both for their king and their country. As during their furlows they have other occupations besides arms, and keep company with other people besides their corporals and companions, they are civiller and freer in their intercourse than the foreigners.—

These last are enlisted in consequence of a voluntary contract, (for it will be unjust to lay to the king's charge the decoys of professed enlisters) the conditions of which are exactly adhered to.

No fovereign pays more punctually or more fparingly than the king of Prussia; nor is any man obliged to serve beyond the time for which he is enlisted, as has been falsely pretended. It is true, indeed, that the officers employ all their powers of persuasion to retain a good soldier; but a stiff and stubborn denial puts an end to their entreaties.

The necessaries of life are dealt out very sparingly to these people, and you may read, upon many of their meagre faces, the extremes of poverty, added to the extreme of labour. But the sailors, who serve other states in time of peace for the purposes of trade, have hardly a milder sate; nor is it less ridiculous to reproach the king of Prussia, on account of the hardships to which his soldiers are exposed, than it would

be to compel these nations to relinquish their navy on account of the loss of men they are fubiect to by fforms, falt provisions, change of climate, scurvy, and the other accidents of a fea-faring life. Without frugality and labour, the king of Prussia's soldiers could not be fuperior to those of other powers; but as he is furrounded by enterprizing and jealous neighbours, he must endeavour to procure himself, by art, what others enjoy in confequence of their natural strength. The sufferings of a small number is no evil, but a good, when the state cannot be benefitted without it, and those who blame this extraordinary discipline, must also with Mr. Linguet, find fault with agriculture, as it falls nearly as hard on the greatest part of the subjects of every European state, as the military fervice does on the Prussian foldier.

The hardships too of the situation, have been much exaggerated by travellers.—Even blows, about which so much has been said, are only used when the man shews incorrigible stupidity, awkwardness, negligence, or wickedness. In no armies whatever are recruits treated with more gentleness than they are in Prussian. Their corporals teach them the exercise, and how to march with all possible care and attention; nor do they grudge to repeat the way of doing the thing

a thousand times, when the man's scull is hard of penetration. But when once he understands the thing, his teacher takes the stick, and tells him, that this for the suture will be his teacher, if he does not do what he is now able to do.

In the course of my travels, I have often had occasion to make a very interesting observation. In all the countries belonging to bishops, and in many of the free states, I met with foldiers who had ferved the king of Prussia, and who had most of them deserted from him. As you know that it is my way to be more observant of men of the lower orders of fociety, than of those who have stars and strings; I talked with about twenty of these deserters, and did. not meet with one amongst them who did not wish himself back again with the king of Prusfia. I have fometimes purposely contradicted them, and have endeavoured to shew them what far more pleafant days they enjoyed under · their bishop or magistrate, and how impossible I thought it, from all the accounts I had of the Prussian army, that they should be displeased with their change of fituation. This did not fatisfy them. They all fpoke of the king's great achievements with a degree of enthusiasm, which often struck me not a little, and the conclusion of what they faid was always this: 'It

is very true that foldiers are rather roughly treated by the king of Pruffia, but the pay comes regularly the day it is due, and there is on instance of any man having ever been 'ftarved to death by him.' When a man does his duty, the officer's eye is upon him, and every one knows in what rank he may class himself; in other places men are only half foldiers, and derive no credit from it. Notwithstanding they have the utmost liberty under these petty princes, and are oftener in the ale-house than under arms whilst they continue with them, many of them, who are young enough, defert back again to the king of Prussia. It is remarkable enough, too, that in all these places they consider themselves as a kind of veterans. In one of the episcopal residencies, I heard an officer fwear at a foldier. The fellow answered him with a degree of cold pride not to be defcribed, 'Sir officer, I have ferved the king of Pruffia.' And the officer was filent.

The frequent desertions, are the capital objections which men make to the Prussian military establishment. It is very true, that upon marching into an enemy's country, a twelfth or fifteenth of the king's army leaves him; but they come back with interest after a fortunate action, and though, after unfortunate actions, fo many WOL. III. C.

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of the foreign troops defert, his own fubjects defert lefs than any foldiers upon earth.

A new instance of the king's wildom and goodness in not being willing to expose the country to any diffres, is thewn in his willinghell rather to bear with thefe inconveniencies. than have more of his subjects under arms. After the battle of Collin, half the army deferred; and at Robach his army was made up almost entirely of his own troops; but markhe beat our armies, and the armies of the empire, and the last served him to compleat his regiments which had fuffered. Thus it always goes. The Germans who inhabit near the Rhine, Maine, and countries about the upper parts of the Danube, always join the victorious army. When the emperor is fortunate, they leave the king for him; and when the chances turn, they turn with them. In the mean time they must of course always stand one action in the place where they are.

With regard to the interior government and tactics of the Prusian army, all I can tell you about them is, that no foreigners know any thing of the matter. Mr. Guibert, the celebrated French writer on the subject, is looked upon here as the most miserable driveller in the whole world; and they pointed out several

things to me, which he had entirely miltaken. I will give you only one specimen, which I happen to recollect. He fays that the cylindried rammer of the Pruffians, depreffes the gun too much when they present. This is not only falle in fact, but Mr. Guibert overlooked fomething here, which the Pruffians confider as a remarkable advantage. They always lower the gun a little when they present, because they have observed that it is always raised a little by the natural shaking of the foldier, especially when he fees himself within the enemies fire. They fay we loft I know not what battle in Flanders, by our men always firing too high, whereas the English took such care to make their people fire lower, that forme of the officers even lowered the guns of the foldiers with their arms and flicks.

In my opinion, the same thing is to be obferved in this, as in every other part of the
Prussian government. It is not so much the
mystery which obtains, as the simplicity of
things, which people overlook, and judge
falsely about. They seek for artisize where
there really is none, and set up mystery because
things are too near their noses to be seen.

I was assured by several officers, that in
marches (which they consider as one of the most

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important parts of the art of war, though they do not make a whole regiment stand for some minutes on one leg, in order to teach them how to preserve the equilibrium of the body,) there are certain little things, which people do not observe, on which the whole depends. The king fuffers no person to be present at the grand manauvres, without particular permission; but this is probably done more to prevent the troops being disturbed by a fwarm of spectators, than to make a mystery of any thing. It requires indeed a very nice and well-accustomed eye, as well as a very favourable fituation in the field, to fee and understand a Prussian manœuvre; so that amongst twenty professional men, who are spectators, there shall hardly be one that can compass it. This is the true cause why the Prussian officers themselves can give so little account of their own art. Every man has too much to do upon his own fpot, to be able to attend to what is passing round him.

As wonderful as the Prussian infantry is, it is still infinitely surpassed by the cavalry, according to the testimony of all the officers I have spoken with. Even English travellers, who are not apt to give any favourable accounts of what they

they meet with in other countries, and who are fo proud of their own cavalry, confess that this part of the Prussian army goes beyond all that can be conceived of it. The king himself says of them, that they always stand to advantage between him and the enemy he expects. He spends immense sums upon them, and sends for horses as far as Tartary. The Prussian officers, though not given to boasting, aftert, that in all the history of the art of war, there is not an instance of the cavalry's ever having been brought to the point of persection it is now brought to in Prussia. They ride always sull gallop; but their evolutions are as exact as any of those of the infantry.

They look upon the attack of the cavalry as not to be stood by the infantry. The king's cavalry is above 80,000 strong, and he every year uses 5000 fresh horses. The emperor takes all possible pains to rival the king in this respect; but he is still at a great distance from him, though his cavalry is beyond comparison the best in Europe, after the Prussian.

A great advantage possessed by the Prussian army is the uniform discipline that obtains all through. There are particular masters of exercise for every division of the army. These the colonels themselves must not control, when

they are exercising their regiments, though they are often only majors. This occasions an attention to a great number of little things, which in other armies, particularly our own, depend only on the will of the colonel, and are therefore often neglected. By this means the whole must harmonize better, for when rules are the same, the alacrity or negligence of the colonels or majors in the execution, make a wonderful difference in regiments.

Another cause, which, in my opinion, greatly contributes to the excellence of the army, is the high birth of the officers. They are most of them of the first nobility of the country, and you hardly meet with one foreigner in twenty. They must all have been educated at the cadet's school, and have served as cadets: I have some very respectable acquaintance amongst them. They are in every respect well-educated people, and upon the whole very fenfible men. The small pay of the fubalterns obliges them to be economical, which is of great advantage to the fervice. They have all a martial appearance, and that alacrity in every thing, which befpeaks men always ready to cut a knot with their fwords. I believe that the Prussian army has an advanves mult not certical, when

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tage over the Austrian, from the Prussian nobility not being so powerful as the Austrian. You cannot expect from counts and princes with large incomes, that exact subordination and simplicity, which is the soul of the Prussian army. Our experienced officers make a great outery about the irregularities in service, which are perpetually arising from the intrigues of private families; and it is well known that the English army is as ill circumstanced in this respect.

The Austrians are by nature a far stouter race of soldiers than the Prussians, but this does not avail them; for, after all that has been said of the advantage of art over uncultivated nature, no stronger instance can be shewn of it, than bringing up a miserable artificial being, with all his art about him, to face a natural man, who is without it. The natural man, who, were they both unarmed, would be able to tear to pieces a dozen such creatures, lies stretched out at the feet of the wretched man of art, as soon as the latter gives fire.

The same truth holds good with regard to armies that are more or less disciplined, nor are the natural qualities of the soldier able to stand against those which are acquired by art.

"Ide, Filzei, encount the few foreigners who

from

# LETTER LIL

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that the king of Prussia had more soldiers than peasants, during the last Silesian war, we are naturally apt to take it for a bon mot; but I am apt to think it rank ignorance. The man who could advise the European powers to help the house of Austria to a part of Germany, in order to enable it to oppose the Turk on all sides, is very capable of making such a blunder. He estimated the Prussian territories by the map, where, on account of their broken appearance, they make but a forry sigure, and so naturally sell into the opinion of its being impossible for more than 200,000 men to inhabit so narrow a slip of land.

What confirms me in this opinion, is the ignorance people are in with regard to the real strength of Prussia, which yet they ought to be better acquainted with, partly by the information of their eyes, and partly from German documents, which are open to every man.

Mr. Pilati, one of the few foreigners who understand German, and derive their knowledge from

from the fountain head, relates, that the king of Prussia had not more than 120,000 men, when he made his first conquest.

When the king came to the crown, his own territories contained at least 2,200,000 inhabitants; Brandenburg had 600,000; Prussia 60,000; Pomerania 300,000; Magdeburg and Halberstadt 300,000; and his own Westphalian dominions at least 400,000. His income consisted of at least 12 millions of storins, and he had inherited a wonderful treasure of ready money from his father.

It is likewise a very generally received prejudice, that Prussia is not strong enough to maintain itself hereafter in the state of fplendour to which the prefent king has raised it. It is very true, that with regard to interior strength, there are but few of the European powers which do not furpass the Pruffian; but, as long as the fystem of government shall last which has been established by the king, it will always be able to measure fwords with any power in Europe. In fact, the true strength of a state does not consist so much in the quantity of its positive force, as in the use made of it; but there is no power in Europe who is able to stretch every nerve and every fibre, as the Prussian certainly can. Befides donn's n.A.

fides this, if population continues to encrease as it has done during the time of the present administration, the positive force itself will encrease faster than that of any other country.

The Prussian dominions, of which no person can have an idea in the map, contain 3650 German square miles, which is as much as the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, and Portugal, put together. The population is about 6 millions, The kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal, put together, do not contain fo many inhabitants; nor does England alone contain as many. As the Prussian population does not yet bear any proportion to the fize of the country, and as that is not yet all cultivated, the Prussian population is susceptible of a great encrease. With regard to goodness of territory, the country in general may be counted amongst the middling fort. The foil of Brandenburgh indeed, is remarkably bad; but that of Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Cleves, the marquifate of La Mark, and some parts of Silesia, Pomerania, and Pruffia, are as remarkably good. When, in process of time, they have acquired the degree of culture of which they are capable, they will be able to support eight millions of perfons. Besides these, this court has much to expect from an accession of the marquifate of lides Anspach

Anspech and Bareith; and it is ten to one that it will come in for a share, when the courts of Vienna and Petersburgh shall execute the plan against the Porte, which they have been engaged in ever since the emperor's journey to Petersburgh.

This plan has been spoken of here for some time with a great degree of confidence, and as it is impossible that whenever it takes place, this court should fit idle, I will lay before you the political opinions of those persons who deferve the most credit. They say the two imperial courts hardly need the third part of their troops to be a match for the Turk. The king's fituation is therefore critical, for he is placed between two courts, each of which equals him in strength, even after they have fent out one hundred and eighty, or two hundred thousand men against the eastern enemy.-This is true; but if the king chooses to oppose their measures, France, who is more interested in this affair than the Pruffian court, on account of her Levant trade, which is an object of eight millions a-year, must naturally feek for a connection with him. France, however, has had the folly, at a time when the west and north were occupied by the two most formidable powers that history knows of to waste her power at

fea; and the two imperial courts fuffered her to found herfelf in the American war, in which she had no manner of concern, till she was intirely exhausted. By this means she has loaded herself with debt, and will not be able to maintain the balance in the East. By the bye, brother, it is very humbling to a Frenchman to observe how they speak of the power of France in this country. They affect to think our armies might make a tolerable stand against Dutch, Piedmontese, or such troops, or at most against the army of the states of the empire; but that they would make no resistance at all if opposed to the Ruffian or Austrian armies. But to return-The king of Prussia, whose age and love of philosophical quiet incline him to peaceful councils, would let himself be perfuaded to peace by a flice of Poland. Something he must have-for should it please him to put his old weather-beaten head out, he would find many methods, by his great treasure, of procuring fuch affiftance from Sweden, Denmark, and other German courts, as would enable him to make head against both the imperial courts; especially if France was to do for the Porte, what its fleets enable it to do, or was to force the emperor to make a diversion in the Netherlands and in Italy, where she might be assisted

by the kings of Naples and Sardinia. Difficult as it may be, to make so powerful a head, and unlikely that all circumstances should concur, we may venture to say that it is ten to one the courts of Vienna and Petersburgh will rather choose to make the king quiet in his own way, than drive him to the utmost. Only shew him that it is worth his while, and probably he will contribute his share in driving the Turks out, or at least guarantee the imperial courts against the attempts which may be made by any other powers of Christendom, to impede their operations.

If the courts of Petersburgh and Vienna shall, as they have the power, proceed to the execution of this plan; the loss of our profitable trade to the Levant, must be the inevitable confequence of the ruinous American war, the end of which we cannot yet see, and which we cannot get as much by as we are sure to lose by this means. Our wine trade to the north must likewise suffer from this cause, as the Poles have been long at work on a canal, which, by means of the many rivers which pass through their country, is to unite the Atlantic and Black Seas, and to bring wine for the supply of all the north, from the provinces which now constitute Turkey in Europe. Not to say

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that Europe will have two powers more at fea, which will be hostile to us on the Mediterranean. All this gives us good reason to blame the sleets built at the expence of our land forces. We have only one hope lest, which is, that Russia and Austria cannot long continue friends, when they are so near one another.

The Prussian monarchy has also great improvements of another kind to expect. If it was once compact and close together, it would be a considerable deal stronger than it now is. They often talk of an exchange of the Prussian territories in Westphalia, and the duchies of Bateith and Anspach for Mecklenburg, Anhalt and Laussits. This would be very advantageous for the king, but it is extremely difficult to bring about.

The king's income is about thirty-four millions of Saxon florins, or eighty-nine millions of livres\*. His civil lift is incredibly and uncommonly small. His first ministers appointments are 15,000 florins. I know some privy counsellors in Vienna who have more. The state of his ambassadors, at the greatest courts, does not amount to more than 15,000 florins. The public of Vienna laughed at the Baron Riedesel, the editor of the Journey to Greece, for not having from thirty to forty thousand florins, like the imperial minister; but he knew very well, that the qualities of a good minister are not to be found in his pocket. Accordingly a long time did not pass before he gave the ton in the best societies, and his jealously for the honour of his master, made several of the emperor's ministers ashamed, who were much better paid than he was.

Silefia is the province of most consequence after the kingdom of Prussia. It is only half as big as this, but has nearly the same number of inhabitants, and yields very near as much. The Silesia linens are samous all over the world; and the king has just opened a trade with Spain for them, which was formerly in the hands of the Hamburghers. They have likewise a large trade for handkerchiefs. The Silesian forests also afford a great deal of wood for ship-building. The Ville de Paris, which was taken the 12th of April of this year, was intirely built of Silesian wood.

Having made several excursions into different parts of the Prussian dominions, I have observed that there is no where so much poverty as in the two towns of Berlin and Potsdam. This probably it is, which has contributed to bring the country into discredit with foreigners.

The high price of the necessaries of life in these two cities, the great number of idle people, the small pay of many civil and military fervants, the pinching way in which many of the smaller nobility, who must have their fervants (and often their debts) live, and the great luxury of dress, may be the causes of this. Upon the whole, the country appears to me, though not rich, yet in a state sufficiently prosperous. The equal distribution of the coin amongst many people, makes the sum not so striking as it is in other places, in which a nobleman covers the poverty of a hundred of his poor countrymen by his dissipation. This is not the case here; there are no persons in the Pruffian dominions, some of the large seudal nobles in Silesia only excepted, who possess above thirty thousand guilders income in landed Indeed you cannot find more than effates. three houses which have twenty thousand florins: but still the inhabitants are upon the whole as remote from extreme poverty as from excessive riches, and you meet with as few beggars here as in any other country in Europe. There is no ground for the affertion of fome travellers. that manufactures do not thrive in this country, for I did not fee one city, though ever fo fmall, in which there were not some flourishing manufactures.

factures. It has indeed been objected to the king, that his fystem of finance has ruined the fair of Francfort on the Oder; but the trade carried on there was a kind of Jewish business, which might perhaps be profitable to the merchants of the place, but was rather hurtful than useful to the rest of the country. The same objection, upon the same narrow grounds, is made to the emperor, with regard to the fair of Bissen, in the Tyrol.

With regard to the sciences, and literature of all kinds, Berlin is, without a doubt, one of the first cities in the world. It is obliged to the king for this pre-eminence. His father was as orthodox and stiff as the late empress of Germany; and the Muses, who without liberty do not live at their ease, fled from him of courfe. This filly prince banished the celebrated Wolfe, who certainly was no infidel; but the king had no liberal ideas; he confidered every study, except those of divinity and finance, as nonfense and delusions of the devil, and his Treasurer, was a greater man in his eyes, than Wolfe, Leibnitz, or Newton. The present king, who is a true friend of the arts and sciences, has established a freedom of thinking in his country, which is not to be met with

any where out of England. Neither orthodoxy nor politics restrain philosophy in this country; but whilst every professor at Vienna is teaching that land and people are the private property of the monarch, they publish here, without the least fear of danger, that the king is nothing more than a fladt-bolder, or the first amongst his fellows. As to religion, the Jews openly declare that the Messiah is not yet come; the catholics, that they eat him every day, and that the pope is the head of all princes; the protestants, that the pope is the wild-beaft in the Apocalypse, and the whore of Babylon; the Greeks, that there is no Trinity; the Turks, that Mahomet was a greater prophet than either Jesus or Moses; and the whole race of infidels, that there never has been any prophet at all. All these things are considered as bare speculations of the closet by the police; and any prieft, rabbi, or cadi, defiring to make an auto-de-fe, would be the first to occupy a place on his own faggots.

The king has an academy, which is not composed of the best wits to be met with here. There are, however, some men of true merit amongst this generally very indifferent set. But Frederick, as has been observed by several of his enemies, has a prejudice in favour of foreigners,

and had rather take one of our journalifts\* to fill up his academy, than any of the German literari. Mr. Pilati has observed that several of the German men of letters would make a better figure in this academy, than most of the foreigners who are in it. The king does not think fo; but then it must be confessed that he has given the Germans full revenge on this fubject, by the publication of his effay fur la Literature Ailemande, which makes it very evident that he knows nothing at all either of their literature or their language. The reason of this is also obvious. When he began his courfe, German literature was still in its infancy, and there prevailed at Berlin especially, a barbarity which must have vexed him forely. His taste was confequently formed on the French and Italian models; and the company he kept in his hours of recreation, confifted only of perfons of these nations. In process of time, light advanced in Germany, but he did not perceive the blaze it made in its progress. He himself wrote and spoke only in French; and the jests of the foreign wits who furrounded him, and knew no German, increased his prejudices, both against a language which he could neither speak nor write, and against a nation which he knew only by its dark melancholy humours, and stiff cut of

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<sup>\*</sup> Reviewers.

the clothes for which the inhabitants of Berlin were remarkable in his father's time, and which they have not yet intirely thrown off. When the fame of German literature increased, and incontestible proofs of its eminence were offered to be laid before him, it was impossible for him to enter into the beauties of a language which he had always treated as barbarous, and of which he could only write and fpeak the most miserable jargon. In order to discover the beauties in any tongue whatever, it is necessary to be acquainted with its peculiar idiom: for it is in this case as it is with an actor who fucceeds one that had been the favourite of the public. The new actor may possess all that art and nature can bestow upon him, still he will not do enough for general expectation on his first appearance; the spectators must have time to grow familiar with his peculiar pronunciation, his carriage, and a number of trifling circumstances, which only hurt him from the comparison with his predecessor, in whom many things of the fame kind did not make unfavourable impressions, on account of the habit which people were under of feeing them. The king, who never had time enough to spare from the cares of his state, to make himself thorough mafter of the beauties of the language, and to

wear away the prejudice he had formed against it, was rather confirmed in his prejudices than shaken in them, by the proofs that were laid before him, of the contrary opinion. It is possible too that his inftructors might not be happy in the choice of the works they took to convince him. After all, if we consider that ever since his accession to the throne he has only used literature for a recreation and amusement, we shall not be very angry with him for his aversion to German literati. The ton of the polite world is feldom found united to their learning, and their wits are mostly stunted by the severer studies of their respective professions. Whilst in other nations the literati often facrifice their understanding to their genius, these always offer up the former at the shrine of the latter. Hunger and want of knowledge of the world render them boorish and untractable in focial life, though at the fame time they form the imaginary worlds of which they write, after quite a different system from what they practice, and know how to give their writings a polish which they want themselves. The professional countenances of the Dutch literati, and the studies of the beaux esprits, which came to the king's notice, could not recommend German literature much to him: doubtless the genius of the nation contributed fomething

to the preference he gave the French and Italians. The German genius is dull, and though many of their pieces do not absolutely stink of the lamp, yet you may eafily observe that they have come with difficulty from the authors. In confequence of this, they feldom recommend themfelves as fine writers, even when they are most entertaining; for they have not the liveliness which enables the French and Italians to mark the remarkable parts of a thing in a minute, and to give a neatness to observations often paltry enough in themselves. Religion is also in some measure the cause of this. The protestants are accustomed to give too great a preference to the useful over the agreeable, and as the catholics, whose religion gives the finest scope to the powers of wit and imagination, are in Germany, all plunged in the deepest barbarity, it is not to be wondered at that the king chooses, for his hours of recreation, Italian abbés rather than German pastors, who are often much superior to . them in real knowledge, but who have the air of their cathedrals, and are apt to fall into the preaching tone, with which it is impossible that the king should be pleased. The same thing obtains with respect to the writers of German politics and history. In point of truth, and

and the knowledge of bare facts, they far furpass the historians and politicians of all other countries, but they do not know how to make their heroes fpeak, nor how to give them a beautiful drefs. It is certainly better to be true and dry, than false and witty; but truth also allows itself to be joined with wit, which makes it flip down more glibly. The complaints which the king makes on this head, in his essay against his countrymen, sur la Literature Allemande, are certainly well grounded; but his remarks on the schools, as well as his proofs of the want of genius of several Dutch writers, are certainly not well chosen. The shooting of darts as thick as the arm, and the ring on the finger of Time, have been univerfally exploded in Germany for the last twenty years. As to the schools, in no country in Europe are they fo flourishing as in the king's own dominions. The Germans proceed intirelyby rule, and even in things in which they are not calculated to improve themselves, they are able to give the best directions to others. No nation surpasses them in estimating the productions of genius. They have given the best rules how a history is to be written; which, however, like all the rules in the universe, have not yet produced a

## 49 TRAVELS THROUGH GERMANY.

fingle genius. In the mean time, rules and criticism of authors, is all that hitherto goes forward in the schools.

Nothing fo much prevents the progress of German genius, as the indifference of the princes of Germany to German literature; but on this account, in my opinion, they deferve no reproach; for if they go on as they have begun for fome time, to encourage agriculture, to make the arts alive, to improve legislation and manners, and to pay their debts; these manly, these imperial pursuits, will, as the king well observes in his Essay on German Literature, contribute more to the happiness and glory of the nation, than if their poets and historians eclipsed all those of old and modern times. This, however, is my own private opinion. But when one of the first princes of Germany reproaches his countrymen, as the king of Prussia has done, for not having produced a Virgil, a Horace, a Tully, a Corneille, a Moliere, a Voltaire, and a Taffo, one would think that they ought to contribute to the progress of taste and language, and to the developement of genius: whereas I met with no court in Germany, in which a foreign dialect did not prevail. In all places but Saxony, the immediate followers of the court generally spoke their mother-tongue wretchedly,

wretchedly, nor was their French and Italian jargon less miserable. No man can make his way at either of these courts without the French language. In most it is accounted vulgar and unbecoming to speak your own language; and yet the court is the only place where language can acquire the rounding, and the lightness which is to distinguish it from the brogue of Barbarians.

In France and Italy the court contributes most to the polish of the language; for it is not the writer who makes the language, but words and expressions must have acquired the right of denizenship in good company, before any author can use them without offence. The jealousy of fpeaking their own language well and with taste, is an object of the same pride and pleafure to the great folks, (who always assume the tone of the court) as the being diftinguished in their dress, their hair, and their demeanour. Even in Greece and Rome, good company, and the business of the state, contributed much more to the forming their languages than the writers, who did not appear till after those nations had already acquired a very confiderable degree of polish. But upon what models are the German writers to form themselves? On the pulpit? Few people in high life pay any attention to

what passes there. On the courts of justice? By the nonfenfical law jargon, and the cold and tedious form of fuits? No, no, this cannot be: there must be Roman tribunals, and a Roman administration of justice, before a Cicero can possibly be expected. As to transactions with foreigners, which were formerly a wide field for German eloquence, they are mostly carried on in the French language. There are feveral princes who have their very proclamations written in French, and translated out of it before they publish them to their subjects. The diet of Ratifbon, the only place where the fcattered nations of the empire form an aggregate and can confider themselves as a whole, and where the love of their country, ambition, and even national pride, ought to make Demosthenes', Ciceros, Burkes, and Foxes; this celebrated diet is the temple of fleep, infensibility, filent corruption, the darkest nonsense and treacherv. All the transactions with foreign ministers, and most of those with the ministers of the German courts themselves, are carried on in French and in the affembly of the states itfelf, every thing is carried on by a fingle yea; you feldom hear a nay, and commonly all is foon brought to a decision. As to the emperor's court at Vienna, there is a jargon there, which not one man of letters in ten can understand; nor is that of Wesslar one jot behind it in unintelligibleness. The German nation is no where brought together in a point, nor is it accustomed to consider itself as one and the same nation; hence the language can be as little fixed as the character is. But if these impediments were once to be removed, still the German genius would always be kept back by want of encouragement.

The small court of Weimar is the only one I have yet met with in Germany, where the national genius is not left to starve; but in order to feed it, the duke is forced, by the scantiness of his income, to make his wits counfellors, secretaries, and lord high treasurers. Klopstock is perhaps the only poet alive, who shews any thing like a well understood patronage in any of the German princes. In a word, the most miserable of our journalists will make his fortune sooner at a German court, than the greatest writer of the country. There is a visible proof of this in the state of the academy of this country.

Amongst the numerous tribe of literati of this country, qui ne sont rien pas meme academiciens, I was made most happy in the acquaintance of the

Jew

Jew Moses Mendelsohn, Messes. Busching, Teller, Spalding, Nicolai, and Madam Karschin.

The first of these is one of the most remarkable writers in Germany. His works are elegant, and his style has a neatness, richness and precision, which must in time make him classical. He is at the head of a house of trade, and brings out his philosophy as he can. He amuses himself at his spare hours with the publication of fragments of his scattered opinions. He has all the elegance in his manner which distinguishes his writings, and it helps him to carry off a corpulent unweildy body.

Busching, Teller, and Spalding, are members of the consistorial court.

The first is the greatest known geographer in Europe. His description of Europe far surpasses, in point of accuracy and fullness, every thing that has gone before. Geography is a science which, from the various changes which take place every hour, must of course have many desects; but I doubt whether it be possible to do more than has been done by Busching. Not only his immense industry, which is absolutely necessary in a work of this kind, but his wonderful acuteness in the choice of his help-mates, is most admirable. His historical and geographical magazine contains the most ample

ample materials for modern history, particularly that of Russia. He himself is an inexhaustible fund of anecdotes of the European courts; nor is there a fingle one amongst them all, with whose circumstances he is not as well acquainted, as if he kept a fervant fee'd in each of them. As he possesses a great variety of living languages, none of the geographical, political, or historical productions of the age escape him; the whole world lays ever before him, just as a part of Switzerland does before General Pfiffer of Lucern, who you know has contrived to delineate not only the natural and physical state of each country, but also the motions of the men in them. I talked to Busching of finishing his valuable geography, but he alledged his numerous occupations, which prevent his undertaking the task he affected to be delighted with. I could discover, however, amidst all this, that he is deterred by the difficulties of it; and indeed Asia, Africa, and America, are not so easy to be described as Europe was. I find, however, that he has done a great deal towards thefe.

Teller and Spalding are the most unpriestlike priests that I know. No soul upon God's earth is in danger of being damned by them for his speculative opinions. Their religion is theoretical retical and practical philosophy. Both of them are wonderful preachers, elegant writers, and deans of churches. Contrary to the generality of protestant teachers, they have comfortable incomes, to which it is probable that they owe much of the softeness and gentleness of their manners, as it is often hunger that makes divines ill-mannered, rough, and untractable.

Ramler is one of the most amiable poets in all Germany, and none has carried the polish of his verse so high as he. He has somewhat of the sharp and short points of Horace, as well as of his nervous and crowded periods. His language is classical. He is professor at the cadet schools, but not in very good circumstances.

Mr. Nicolai is a prodigy as an original writer, but possibly still greater as a compiler. His Sebaldus Nothanker, is one of the best German novels; it is quite original, and abounds in striking characters and interesting situations. As he is a bookseller, no body can find fault with him for regulating his authorship according to the pounds and shillings it brings in. There is no German writer, except only Wieland, (who, notwithstanding his own notorious Jew practices in this branch, has dared to blame him for it,) who knows how to dress his commodities so well according to the public

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taste, and to fend them out at a proper time. His own interest, however, often coincides with that of the public, and they run together. Germany is obliged to him for a Literary Journal, which, in point of folidity and real merit, has not its equal in Europe. As he is only the compiler, there is no being angry with him if a partial review of a book now and then flips in; but there are very few of these; whereas all the Reviews of other nations are, generally fpeaking, plots upon the credulity and ignorance of mankind His conversation is fingularly interesting, as he is possessed of a fund of anecdotes of German writers, which, if they were to be published, would furpals every chronicle that has hitherto been called scandalous\*. He knows all their clubs. and the fecrets of their private houses.

Madam Karschin is an amiable poetes. Her tales breathe innocence, soft sensibility and peace of mind. She is likewise very good company, and the more admirable for having made herself what she is.

You meet with many women in this place who are well acquainted with the polite arts and belles lettres. Madame Rechlan, amongst many others I could mention, is an excellent

German

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Nicolai, greatly to his honour, has declared that they never shall.

## 48 TRAVELS THROUGH GERMANY.

German poetes. I was in several societies where all the young women took a part in literary conversations.

There is no country in which you meet with ministers so enlightened as you do here. All the ministers and effective counsellors are chosen men, amongst whom there is hardly one but would be a wonderful writer in his own line. The present Attorney General has done more in clearing up the subject of criminal legislation, in a fhort pamphlet on the subject, than all the folios and quartos in the Beccaria tafte put together. The minister Hertsberg, to whom the king's Essay on German Literature is addressed, and who takes the part of his countrymen with great warmth, has been diftinguished by the writing of many, and the publication of still more excellent state-papers. He is an excellent minister, and must be known to you by his conduct of the dispute on the Bavarian inheritance, and the peace of Teschen. The Chief Justice Zedlitz, has published some very excellent remarks on education, and many of the king's counfellors are good writers. If, according to the old proverb, a man is known by his fervants, every one must think highly of the king of Prussia.

What principally diffinguishes the literati of the

the northern parts of Germany, in their acquaintance with the literature of the more cultivated European nation. I did not meet, either here or in Saxony, with a fingle character of eminence, who was not well acquainted with the best French, English, and Italian writers. They are true cosmopolites in literature, and totally void of prejudice, either in favour of the productions of their own country, or against those of a foreign growth. I have no where met with such universal and impartial knowledge of the world as there is here. This is an advantage which neither the English, French, or Italians can dispute with them.

## LETTER LIV.

Berlin.

OF all the amusements of this town, that which delights me most at this season, is the walk in the park on the south side of the Sprey. I have never seen a finer public walk. The varied beauties of the woods, alleys, groves, and wilderness, beggar all imagination. It is above three miles round, and has water vol. III.

fufficient to give it more life than there is in the walks of much larger cities. A part of it commands the Sprey. It is a pity that they have not carried it over the parade and the royal wood market as far as the river, from both banks of which you have very beautiful prospects.

In this park on a Sunday you fee Berlin in all its glory. It is to the people of this place what the Thuilleries are to Paris, only the mixture of the company is much more firlking, as you find all the populace and all the fine world here. You ride or walk through without any moleftation. In some parts of the park you likewise see rows of ladies magnificently dressed, fitting together as in the Thuilleries, and have the fame freedom of staring them full in the face, and comparing them to one another. You also meet with most of the literati of the place There are refreshments of at stated times. every kind provided, nor is there, as at Vienna, a police to prevent any amusement ladies and gentlemen may choose to fall into.

I had no opportunity of feeing the Royal Opera, which is looked upon as one of the best in Europe, but is feldom open except in winter; nor is there any theatre here except a very indifferent German one, which is not to be compared with those of Vienna and Munich. The mana-

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ger, Mr. Dobbelin, has some very singular opinions. He places the strength of his company in the number of his actors, and feems to diftribute the parts amongst them by lot. I have often observed that he who plays the servant is much better qualified to play the mafter, who again, was nature attended to, would play the fervant. Among fifty actors there are hardly four that would be reckoned tolerable at Vienna. The wardrobe is of a piece with the rest. I faw two pieces in which modern manners were reprefented, played in Spanish dresses no longer wore. Amidst dresses of the fifteen centuries, you often behold a modern one, especially amongst the women. The women feldom change their head drefs, though the fcene should happen to be in India; and yet Mr. Dobbelin makes a great outcry about his wardrobe, and the propriety of the costune. This theatre is fo small, that many of the spectators are obliged to take care left the clouds of heaven over them should be entangled in their hair. I faw trees which were hardly big enough for walking sticks. Some of this great king's troops are carrion, whom hunger has robbed of all their flesh; and many are hardly able to move their legs and arms, for which want of action, the actreffes are accountable, as you

may eafily discover by the found of their voices. Mr. Dobbelin's wages, which are from fix to eight guilders a week; are indeed not calculated to give his people a great deal of strength. Their forte consequently consists in fainting away, in which art two or three of his women furpass every thing that I have ever feen of the kind. In this they are only excelled by themselves when they die. Dying is the principal business of every German actor, and when he knows how to give life to his death, like fome great actors I have feen, whose convulsions began in the feet and ran through the whole body, he is fure of the applause of a German pit. The tragedy tafte, which obtains throughout Germany, from the Mediterranean to the Eastern sea, would lead a foreigner to imagine that the country was made up of ravishers, house-breakers, &c. especially as the same cannibal gusto is difcoverable throughout most of their modern romances.

Though the inhabitants of Berlin, including the garrison, amount to one hundred and forty two thousand men, yet it is not able to keep up a good company of players. It is entirely owing to want of encouragement that Mr. Dobbelin fuffers half his company to starve, and plays in a building, which in any other city

TRAVELS THROUGH GERMANY. city would be looked upon as a barn. In this respect the city is unique. You would imagine that the officers alone, who are constantly from eight to nine hundred in number, would be fufficient to keep up a good theatre; but it is not fo. In truth this is one of the most eminent marks of the poverty and parlimony of the people of this place.

A man would not wonder to find the public of all the great cities of the Prussian monarchy disaffected to plays. The great industry which they are remarkable for must have this effect; but the capital is the rendezvous of all the idlers of the country, and though the number of them does not amount to that of any other capital, it should, one would think, be fufficient not to let a couple of dozen of players starve. These particularities are to be folved by confidering that the idle, fuppofing them to have their incomes neat and free from incumbrance, are still very poor people. This is the natural confequence of the wife fystem of finance established by the king. The industrious part of the public does not feel the dearness of the necessaries of life, which is the consequence of the excise and monopoly, because the wages of work are raised in proportion to them. But those who live on their

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their rents feel their whole weight. If therefore they choose to live consistently, and in some degree answerably to their estates, the expence of the theatre becomes too weighty an item for their purses. In a word, the labouring part of the public do not go to the play here, because labour makes them sparing; and the idle do not go because they are too poor.

I know no stronger mark of distinction betwixt the Prussian and Austrian character than what relates to the theatre. The Pruffian monarchy contains feveral other fine cities. In Konigsberg there are upwards of fixty thoufand fouls; in Breslaw, forty thousand; Stettin, Magdeburg and Potsdam contain thirty thoufand inhabitants and above; Francfort on the Oder, Wesel, Embden, and other cities, have from eighteen to twenty-five thousand inhabitants. A great many have from ten to fifteen thousand fouls. In all these, two companies of players can hardly get enough to keep out hunger. On the other hand, throughout Austria you meet with a theatre in every small town. I found one at Lintz, at Neuftadt, at St. Polnair, and even at Chreps. The larger

eities, as Prague, Presburg, Grass, Brun, &c. have all standing theatres. This difference is not owing to the difference of fortunes, for Vienna excepted, which is fattened not only with the marrow of the whole monarchy, but with part of that of Germany; there is much more money in the Prussian, than there is in the Austrian dominions, though no fingle house in the former has an income of fifty, one hundred, or even two hundred thousand guilders. There is an appearance of care amidst the middle classes of the inhabitants of the Prussian towns, of which you can have no idea in the Austrian monarchy, the Netherlands and Lombardy only excepted. The only difference confifts in the greater industry of the Prussians, and the frugality which is inseparable from it. The Austrian cities are full of idlers and spendthrifts, who are, on the contrary, the scarcest commodities in the Prussian states. Besides this, the knowledge and manners to be found amidst the inhabitants of the greater part of the Prustian provinces, put them in possession of better pleasures than are to be met with in the theatre, the dancing booth, the cellar, &c. In the finallest Prussian villages you meet with more happiness, than in many large states in Austria;

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and there is much more good done by private persons in the former, than in any of the latter.

You have long been desirous I should say fomething to you of the heir of the Prussian monarchy. The common accounts of him are as contradictory as they are ridiculous. There is a German journalist who has been shameless enough to declare that the king has purpofely neglected the prince's education, in order that the shades of his future government may make his own administration more glorious. It is impossible to revile either the king or prince with less semblance of truth. The prince of Prussia is not only particularly well educated, but the king feeks every opportunity in his power to attach him to his fystem of government. The warmth of his temperament betrayed him into fome amorous excesses in his youth; but he is now much more staid and fober. According to the testimony of the king himself, who praises no man upon slight grounds, he is a great general; and all the people here, who know him at all, affure me that he is likewise a great statesman. He loves the arts and sciences, and what ought to recommend him to the notice of the German reviewers, thinks much more favourably of German literature than his great uncle. He has been reproached

The only thing which makes the Prussian patriots at all apprehensive of a change, is a little love for magnificence, and rather too unlimited a generosity. It is true that these are most formidable failings in a monarchy, which, like the Prussian, is built only upon simplicity and frugality, and has no other strength but that which arises from the exactest economy. But the king, who is better acquainted with this than any body else, and has ever been a more careful father, both of the prince and country, than journalists think, has frequently made him seel, by experience, the bad consequences of the

one of the most terrible states in Europe.

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want of proper frugality; and though the prince should not, during his uncle's life-time adopt his system of economy, he will not sit half a year upon the throne after his death without being convinced that he must adopt it. The Prussian state is a piece of clock-work, which stands still as soon as one wheel is impaired; and the prince has wisdom, alacrity, and honour sufficient to give ear to the pressing voice of necessity, and not to let his country sink through his indolence.

The incomes of the Prussian princes and princesses are by no means so scanty as people are generally taught to believe. Every prince has fifty thousand rubles per annum settled on him as foon as he comes of age, and the king's brother, as well as the hereditary prince, have belides, incomes arising from estates and places. Prince Henry has nearly four hundred thousand, and the hereditary prince at least three hundred and fifty thousand livres annually to depend upon. Neither of them are able to make the year meet on their incomes. But in cases of necessity the king is as free of his assistance, as of his brotherly and paternal advice. He has a special art in mixing advice and admonition with the money he at any time bestows. At the same time there is not a better pay-master

in the world, nor is there an instance of his having cheated any individual of a penny in his accounts with them.

I cannot conclude this subject without giving you some more anecdotes of this in general so much mistaken monarch. I shall not repeat any of the stories which are publicly known of him, and do him as much honour as a private man, as his exploits do as a monarch. What I have to communicate to you relates to his treatment of persons with whom he had reason to be dissatisfied, which will shew you at once both how little of the despot he really has in him, and how well he understands the art of infinuating himself into the cabinets of the several European princes, and making himself master of their most important secrets.

I am acquainted with two persons who have long been employed by the king in matters of the greatest importance. They are both of them adventurers of the first class. The one possesses some talents, which however are more shining than substantial, as his knowledge is too much confined to his own affairs, and he does not know the connection of them with political circumstances. The other had not hands sufficiently clean, but his corruption has arisen more from dissipation, than nature

or culpable habit. Both having been detected in imposing upon the king, there came to them secret advice from a third hand, and they disappeared from Berlin at different times. The affair at that time made no further noise. It happened that both had it afterwards in their power to serve the king, the one at the Eastern Sea, and the other at the Lower Rhine. All those who have at any time been in close connection with the king, even when they quarrel with him, preserve an affection for his service in their breasts, which shews more than any thing else, that the king is not the tyrant he is represented to be.

The abundant love for his service, which was more a consequence of true regard and friend-ship than of self-interest, induced the sugitives to write the king word that there were things on the spots where they were, in which they could be of service to him. This happened at different times, and the circumstances had nothing to do with each other. The king accepted their offers, rewarded them according to their services, and though he sent them many letters, some of which I have seen, let fall never a word of their former misseeds. So far from it, there were marks in several of the letters, that he wished to banish the remem-

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brance of them from his memory as fast as posfible. A still more extraordinary thing is, that one of the men has been returned this three years, and has often had occasion to converse with the king, without having heard a syllable from him that could lead, even in the most round-about way, to the old story.

Some anecdotes which I have been told here, and do not recollect to have feen in print, thew that this treatment of the two adventurers did not arise from any regard to self-interest, but was the refult of the opinions which the king entertains of human nature. The present minifter ----, was a major in the last Silesian war. As he had confessedly great military talents, the king made him adjutant to General Hilfer, who was as brave as his own fword, but was no deep thinker. This was done in consequence of the usual custom; for when a dangerous expedition is in hand, Frederick always employs persons with iron bodies, who are used to run without fearing against any wall he fends them; but then he always places an adjutant behind them, to give them the direction. The major did his duty, and the king was well pleafed with him, and expressed himself so. The next thing you would imagine would have been preferment; but this did not follow:

follow; for the gentleman had too much falt in his composition, and had happened to make fome observations rather too warm on the king's operations. These came to his ears, and made fuch an impression on him, that he found an opportunity of letting the gentleman know that his actions were more pleafing than his criticifins. The major now thought that all hopes of his promotion were at an end for ever, he therefore retired to a provincial town, and gave himself up to philosophical pursuits, like a man who had nothing more to hope from the court. After a certain time had elapsed, the king bethought himself of enquiring for him. He was told that he was studying politics and finance for his amusement. On this the king let him wait a little while longer, and then promoted him to a conspicuous post in the province, where having had occasion to diftinguish himself, he was finally called to the ministry, nor has there ever been the least hint given of what had passed between him and the king.

Quintus Icilius had once been treated very roughly in consequence of one of his publications, by a gentleman who was displeased, and took the liberty of writing with great freedom against him. A little while after, having occafion to publish again, he asked the king's permission

mission to do it. 'I have nothing to say to thefe matters,' replies the monarch, 'you must ask Mr. \_\_\_\_, your reviewer's leave.' This nettled Quintus Icilius, whose weak fide was the pride of authorship; and he shewed his resentment by absenting himself for a few nights from the king's fuppers. When the king imagined his author's pride was a little cooled, he fent him word that he had heard with pleafure that he was well again, and hoped to fee him at the usual season. Quintus accordingly attended, and not a look or question passed which could put him in the least diffress. On the contrary, the king converfed with him with a familiarity and good-humoured pleafantry that would have done honour to a private man, and could come only from one who was a man of the world, and loved mankind as well as he understood them. There are many other traits of the fame kind, which shew how different the king of Prussia is in every thing from a sultan.

Whilst the Prussian administration is thus generally misunderstood; whilst the very courts who endeavour the most exactly to imitate the operations of Frederick, cannot enter at all into the spirit of his administration, and commonly either take that for an end which is only a means; or for want of thought make those

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parts of their government mysterious, which he renders the most open to every man's inspection who chooses to look upon them; whilst, in fine, most of the other powers of Europe have not sense enough to think of learning his system of government; be is perfectly acquainted with the constitution, administration, and the external circumstances of every power in Europe, the fmallest and most apparently infignificant not excepted. He knows France better than our whole ministry put together. I have been affured from good authority, that for many years past four persons have travelled at his expence throughout our feveral provinces, in order to give him accurate information of the population, the agriculture, the exports, and particularly the manufactures of the country. I know for a certainty that by this means he knows the Austrian provinces better than they are known at Vienna itself. The anecdote mentioned in the Discours preliminaire, of the book entitled Grande Tastiqueet Manœuvres des Guerres suivant les principes de sur Majesté Prussiane, of the Prussian ambassador at Paris, Lord Marshall, having in vain endeavoured to open the eyes of our minister for foreign affairs with regard to the affairs of Russia, is founded on a fact. Nor is this the only opportunity our ministers

ministers have lost by their presumption of being taught by the king what might have been advantageous to the country they pretended to govern. It cannot indeed be denied that the emissaries which he employs to come at the fecrets of foreign courts, often make use of ways and means by which honour comes short home. When, for instance, the partition of Poland was in agitation, the papers of a private fecretary of a certain cabinet were procured in a manner which much hurt the bonds of private friendship; not only so, but there was an audacity used which far surpasses allidea. Without attempting to apologize for fuch things, I can only fay, that as they are artifices which all the courts of Europe allow themselves, none is to fuccessful in them as the king of Prussia, as there is no monarch who has fuch trufty and acute fervants as he has. The activity, fidelity, and fecrecy with which all his matters are managed, are the causes why the Prussian ambasfadors in all courts make fuch short processes, and commonly arrive at their conclusions when other ministers first begin to reason, to conjecture, and to combine. That cabinet which thinks to carry on any important thing in which the king of Prussia is concerned, without his coming at the knowledge of it, is much mistaken. VOL. III.

mistaken. In the present transactions of the courts of Petersburgh and Vienna with regard to the Porte, the king of Prussia has sprung some mines which have opened him the doors of the two cabinets. He told the Jesuits of their fall, two years before it happened; but they believed not in him, and imagined themselves to be much greater prophets.

Upon the whole, the strength of the king of Prussia consists partly in the knowledge of his own strength, and partly in that he has of the strength of his rivals. There is a double advantage in this, arising from the understandings of the latter being as unfteady and variable as those of the king and his ministers are plain and precise. Want of understanding is the mother of pride, which leads us to the greatest political errors, and makes us despise our enemies, to our great loss. This blindness it was which, as the king well observed, carried Austria into Silefia, and Great Britain into America. He himself is sure never to fall into such a fnare, as his felf-love never blinds him. As a proof of this, observe the remarkable difference there is between Austrian and Prussian state-papers. In the former the writers always endeavour by all means, and often in the midst of visible marks that they themselves know better

better things, to trumpet forth the power of Austria; and lessen that of Prussia. The latter, on the contrary, even when they are at war with Austria, speak in the highest terms of its greatness: nor is there an instance of a Prussian's having given himself the trouble in, a public writing, to make the greatness of his country more than it is. They use plain facts and arguments, without the least exaggeration. A very strong distinctive character this of the two countries. In the midft of the Bavarian war. whilft Auftrian writers used to set forth that the king of Prussia was obliged to enter into some war to pay his army, whom he could otherwife neither clothe norfeed; the Prussian ministers only observed in their state-papers, how inconceivable it was that so high and mighty a power as the house of Austria, a power so justly formidable to all the neighbours round, should seek to make itself still greater by the depression of an old monarch from whom it had fo little danger to apprehend. In a word, the Prussian kingdom is governed by rule, and the greatest part of the rest of the world by opinion.

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## LETTER LV.

Hamburgh.

HE body, my dearest brother, feels itself as much worse in all the parts of North Germany, than it is in the fouthern ones, as the mind feels itself better. On this fide the Ertsmountain, the inns, roads, post-waggons, and all that relates to travelling, are the very best possible; on the other the inns are not a jot better than the Spanish ones. The roads are like the Hungarian, and instead of post-chaises, they have a kind of large farmer's waggon, without cover or window, in which the paffengers lay along the straw like swine, and are exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather. On the other hand, here you meet with the best company every where; there is hardly a village fo fmall but what has manufactures, collections of the arts, and libraries; besides which, every parish-priest in the country has more knowledge of mankind, than many a courtier in the fouth of Germany.

Nature has likewise made a great difference with respect to the physical appearance of the two parts of Germany. Saxony, which is the best best northern province for natural fruitfulness of country, still bears no comparison with Bohemia, Austria, Bavaria, and Suabia, and the hills of Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg, are not nearly of the same value as those of the same size in the south.

The dutchy of Mecklenburg is as large as the dutchy of Wirtemberg. The latter has five hundred and fixty thousand inhabitants, and its prince enjoys a revenue of two millions of rix dollars; the former hardly two hundred and twenty thousand men, and a revenue of not more than four hundred thousand rix dollars, of which the Schwerin line enjoys three, and that of Strelitz one part. Notwithstanding this much larger population, the dutchy of Wirtemberg could nourish all the inhabitants of Mecklenburg with its superfluity. On a calculation, we should find that the dutchy of Wirtemberg has five or fix times the natural riches of that of Mecklenburg, notwithstanding the more advantageous fituation of the latter on the fea.

With regard to picturefque appearance of country, there is much more beauty and variety in the dutchy of Mecklenburgh than in the mark of Brandenburg; though you meet with no hills properly fo called in either, for the f3 things

things which they dignify with the name of hills, throughout this whole country, are no other than mole-hills when compared to true hills. There are however in Mecklenburg, feveral very pretty landscapes, where soft hills beautified with great varieties of woods; meadows covered with corn, and little cottages, surrounding small lakes, make a very fine picture.

The Mecklenburg farmers are a very ftrong and healthy race of men. Their curling white hair reminds the traveller of the old Germans, who heretofore contributed to the Roman luxury that aurea cafaries which, on the head of a thin boned, fallow-faced, and coughing young fenator, must have been the greatest satire on the corruption of Rome, in the eyes of thinking men. Almost all the farmers in Mecklenburg are flaves; but their fates are not fo hard as they feem, as the nobility are humane, enlightened, and good-natured. They, as well as the burgesses of certain cities, enjoy a freedom here which has long been lost in the Upper Germany. The duke of Mecklenburg and the electors of Saxony are the most limited princes of the empire; nor have any decrees of the imperial court, which they have brought forward

states, yet been able to humble their nobility, whose jealousy of the power of their governors sometimes amounts to an almost ridiculous

excess.

The dukes obtained at the treaty of Teschen, in return for having given up their claims on the marquisate of Leuchtenberg, the samous Jus de non appellando, in consequence of which no law suits can be carried out of their own courts to the tribunal of the empire. They thought by this to have gained a prodigious advantage over their states; but these protested against this privilege, as being inimical to their liberties, and the affair is not yet determined. Probably the dukes will maintain themselves in the possession of a privilege possesses in the possession of a privilege possesses in the possession in their countries.

When I tell you men of the great world, that there is very good company to be met with on the banks of the Lokenifs, the Stor, the Rekenifs, the Warne, and feveral other rivers, which though you have never heard them mentioned in your lives, are not only as true rivers as the Somme, the Scheld, the Sambre, but in many parts of them navigable rivers too; you will think that my taste must needs have suffered great

corruption from the gross air of Germany. I can affure you however, that if by a stroke of a magic wand you could be taken out of your perfumed beds, and without breathing a drachm of German air, be transported into a circle of Mecklenburg nobleffe, you would find the fociety very agreeable. It is true you meet there no academicians, no abbés. no virtuosi, no journalists, no players, nor any of the characters which contribute so much to enliven your fociety. But on the other hand, natural found understandings and good hearts give the conversation a stronger and more substantial relish than all your anecdotes and bistoriettes de cour, your comedies, brochures, and all the other artificial ragouts—with which you mix so much affafætida.

I have feen no nobleffe happier, or more hospitable than that of Mecklenburg, especially that in and about Gustron. Nor are they so unacquainted with the refinements of life, and the great world, as you may imagine. The tables are wonderfully well covered, and you may visit many persons who are very well acquainted with the life of courts. Literature is found among all ranks who are above the populace. The women know nothing of what is commonly called ton. They have none of that

that boldness and imperiousness, nor yet any thing of the defire of conquest of our countrywomen; they are gentle, and attentive to their children, still and bashful; but all that they fay is so naif and hearty, that the wit of our most famous country-women appears loathfome and flat to me when compared to it. I was not at all furprised to find the present war much the fubject of conversation throughout the whole of my tour. The nation take a natural concern in it, both on account of the troops they let out, and from their having been for feveral centuries very warlike themselves. No wonder that under fuch circumstances more than a hundred newspapers should not be sufficient to satisfy their hunger after news. But what I cannot fo readily explain; is, the amazing partiality of the Germans for the English. You hardly meet with one German out of a hundred who is on our fide. The Mecklenburghers especially have a fondness and veneration for our enemies which approaches to superstition. I was in many places where they gave little fetes whenever the God with two trumpets, one before and the other behind, spread-reports favourable to the English. It is true indeed that there is fomething great in the heroic deeds and character of the English, which naturally leads the opinion of mankind towards them.

But it is not only in what relates to war that the Germans are hostile to us. They look upon our government as the excess of despotism, and confider us as a tricking and treacherous people. You know that this is the direct opposite of the character we give ourselves, and indeed of that which is given us by fome other nations whom we have made our friends by our frankness and honesty; but it is the projectors and adventurers, who being cast out by France, have attempted to make their fortunes in Germany, that have raifed this prejudice against us; for which reason I could not forgive the Germans their judging fo unfavourably of us from fuch specimens, if I did not know that we are equally unjust towards them, and are apt to consider the baron, who often makes a ridiculous figure in Paris, with his embroidered coat, and embroidered vest, as a model of the German nobility. Upon the whole, different nations must forgive each other their prejudices, and it is easy to forgive them when, as it is in Germany and France, they do no hurt to individuals, however they may affect national pride. In England, Holland, and fome other countries, they are often attended with fatal confequences to individuals, and are therefore not to be forgiven.

The first appearance of the free imperial city of Hamburg is very difgusting and ugly. Most of the streets are narrow, close, and black, and the populace in them is fierce, wild, and, generally speaking, not very clean. As soon however, as a man has made his way into the principal houses, he begins to conceive a more favourable opinion of the town. In the houses of the rich merchants you fee taste, cleanliness, magnificence, and at times even profusion. The Hamburghers are the first protestants I have feen, who have continued good catholics in the material points of eating and drinking. Their tables are even better than those of the people of Vienna, Gratz, Prague, and Munich, whom heretofore I have described to you as such commendable proficients in the art of the Apicii; nor is there a place in the world where they have fo many refinements on the fenfual pleasures as is in this. Though in few parts of Germany gardening is in as flourishing a state as it is here, yet they are not contented with the wonderful vegetables which their own country affords, but import many species of them from England, Holland, and various parts of Germany. This is owing to fashion, which has affixed a preference to the vegetables which come from these countries. They get together from East,

East, West, North, and South, what every country produces peculiar to itself and costly for the table. But it would far exceed your belief was I to lay before you an exact picture of the way of living here. You may however form to yourself some idea of it, when I tell you that it is the custom in great houses, to give a particular wine with every dish. According to the established courses of good housekeeping, Burgundy, Champaigne, Malaga, Port and Moselle, have each their different dish to which they belong; so that when the meat is ferved up for which nature, according to the opinion of the Hamburghers, has deftined each particular wine, there is always fresh glasses set on. With young green beans, which is a dish of some ducats, and new herrings, a dish which costs a guilder, the Hamburghers commonly drink nothing but Malaga wine; and Burgundy is the flanding vehiculum of green peafe. Oysters must of all necessity swim in Champaigne; and the costly falt meats admit of no other convoy than Port and Madeira. You must not think that this takes place only on festivals; by no means; it is the daily food of the rich; and their way of living is adapted in every thing to this.

I am foon to make fome visits in the country houses near town, which are out of all number. Equipages, furniture, play tables, every thing, in a word, is answerable to the expence of the table. Few affemblies of Parifian people of fastion, are more brilliant than the parties who meet in villas here, and they hardly play as high. Those who can afford to spend no more than twenty or thirty thousand livres a year, rank among the middling class, and though they are all obliged to support themfelves by their own industry, and that there is scarce any nobility with a stated revenue to be met with, there are many families who spend from forty to fifty or fixty thousand livres a year in their housekeeping.

. Notwithstanding all this love of good eating, the mind is not oppressed and borne down by the body here as it is in the fouthern parts of Germany. The Hamburghers of the higher class are still more jovial, more happy, more conversible, and more witty, than the Saxons. You meet here with many literati of the first class. Natural history particularly flourishes much and is held in high estimation. It was a Hamburgher who gave Linnæus the fundamental ideas of his Systema Natura. As most of the young people are fent abroad to form trading

connections

connections in the feveral ports of London, Petersburg, Calais, Bourdeaux, &c. in all which the Hamburghers have houses, a stranger is sure to meet with some people who are acquainted with his native country. The Hamburghers upon the whole are great travellers, which renders the society of this place particularly lively and animated.

The women of this place are handsome, genteel, and freer in their manners than they generally are in protestant countries; particularly there obtains a vivacity which a man is not used to look for in the north, and is a strong contrast to the aldermannic gusto of Holland. Doubtless the good eating occasions this.

One of the great pleasures of this city arises from the Alstersluss. It comes from the north, almost through the middle of the city, and forms a lake in it, nearly eight hundred paces in circumference. In a summer evening this lake is almost covered over with gondolas, which have not such a melancholy aspect as the Venetian ones. These are filled with family or other parties, and have often boats in attendance upon them with music. The whole has an astonishing good effect, which is still greater from there being a much-frequented public walk by the lake; the liveliness of which corresponds

corresponds very pleasingly with that of the people on the water.

Near the city there are some villages on the Elbe called the Four Lands, which are also in fummer a notable rendezvous of pleasure. The farmers who live in these villages are in very good circumstances, and take a prodigious sum of money from the town, for their excellent vegetables, particularly for their green peafe. Evety day during the fummer you meet here with parties from the city, who are as conspicuous for their genteel appearance, as for their excesses in eating and drinking. The farmers daughters are very pretty, and their drefs the handfomest I have yet feen amongst this class of beings. They allure the young men of the city to their cots; and many quarter themselves here under the pretence of a milk diet, but in fact to be near their fweethearts.

These above mentioned four villages supply the town with vegetables, butter, milk, hay, and many other things of the kind—also with most of the women of pleasure, and most of the spinners.

The city of Altona, which lies at no great difstance from this town, also affords this people many opportunities of amusing themselves. The king of Denmark, who from a jealousy of Hamburg, endeavours by every means in his power to make this place flourishing, appears to have it in his head to hurt the brothels and inns of the city, as well as the trade. Through his care Altona has, in a short space of time, from a small village, become a town of thirty-five thousand inhabitants, amongst whom, however, to speak freely, there are far too many rascals.

The country round about Hamburg, though a flat, is extremely pleasant; the various and flourishing agriculture gives it a very gay appearance; the water, however, contributes much to the beauty. The river conduces extremely to the advantage of this city, which by taking the last toll, has almost an illimited command over it. It is a mile and three quarters broad at Hamburgh, and forms several islands, on which they make parties of pleasure. The aspect of this mighty river, always well filled with ships, and in several parts containing very rich islands, has a great deal of majesty in it. Tis a pity that you enjoy this magnificent prospect only from a few houses in the city.

Notwithstanding the quantity of water, and low situation, the air of the place is extremely good; this is owing to the cleansing it receives from the strong winds which blow upon it from all quarters. The north wind is very dangeTRAVELS THROUGH GERMANY. 81 rous to the city, it impedes the course of the stream, and occasions many inundations which frequently fill the lower parts of the houses with water, and do a great deal of mischief to the country around.

## LETTER LVI.

Hamburg.

TAMBURG is without comparison the most flourishing commercial city in all Germany. Except London and Amsterdam, there is hardly a port in which you fee constantly so many ships as you do here. The present business consists in great part of commission and carrying; but the proper and folid trade of the inhabitants is likewife very confiderable. Their principal trade is driven with Spain and France; and they gain confiderably by the exchange with the former. Hamburg has hitherto supplied Spain with most of its linens; it also supplies it with large quantities of iron, copper, and other articles which the north produces. The Pruffians, Danes, Swedes, and Russians give themselves a great deal of trouble to be the carriers of their own com-VOL III. modities

modities to Spain; but it is extremely difficult to turn trade out of an old channel, and many of the merchants of the north find the carrying trade of Hamburg too convenient, and in part also too profitable to them, for the present proprietors to be in any great danger of losing this channel of trade. The fums advanced stay too long at Cales, and when a country cannot pay itfelf in the commodities of that it trades with, the trade with Spain is very troublesome. present Hamburg is always in debt to Spain, for except in time of war, (when materials for ship building, ammunition, &c. make some difference) it carries more things out of the country than it furnishes. Another reason why that part of the northern exports will always go through the hands of the Hamburghers is, that they can pay for them quickly and regularly; whereas the waiting for the fhips from the Havannah, without the return of which the Spanish trade cannot go on, often puts the northern merchant to inconveniencies.

Sugar cane is the great article which goes from Spain to Hamburg, by which the latter gains large sums. No nation has hitherto been able to vie with the Hamburghers in boiling and refining sugars. The trade for these articles extends through all Germany, Poland, and a

great

great part of the north. Other important articles which Hamburg takes from Spain, and with which it drives a very confiderable trade in the north, are wine, falt, fruit and the like. Besides all these, manufactures of handker-chiefs, ratteens, and ribbons, apothecaries drugs, and the sishery, form a very considerable part of the trade of the country. There is no place in the world which contains siner and more cunning speculators than this does; no circumstances or moment savourable to a single article escape them. The present war has brought them in associations.

The enlightened and patriotic governors of this place omit nothing which can contribute to the extension of trade. Some years ago the prospect of advantage to their fellow citizens made them attempt to open a trade for them on the coast of Barbary; the Dutch were immediately jealous of this, and made the king of Spain believe that the Hamburghers surnished the Saracens with implements of war: the king, in consequence, made several orders, which have stopped the channel to the present merchants, whom however he cannot prevent from a much more profitable commerce with his own subjects.

This state is surrounded on all sides by mighty rivals, of whom however, the industry, cunning, and liberty of the inhabitants ever get the better. The Danish government omits nothing that can hurt the country; nay it often feeks to hurt it without any prospect of advantage to itself. One of the favourite projects of the Danish ministers is to unite the East Sea to the German Ocean, by a canal joined to the Eyder. This would give a death stroke to the commerce of Lubeck and Hamburg; but the government and the intelligent part of the country are as easy about this, as they would be if his Danish majesty was to order a canal to be dug in Greenland. On the other fide, the king of Prussia had, by his terrible taxes, cut off the communication of this country with Saxony by the Elbe, which was a fevere stroke to both countries. What did the wife government here do? It entered into a treaty of commerce with Hanover and Brunswick, and laid the plan of a road between Saxony and this place. This foon convinced the king of Prussia that his toll on the Elbe would be ruined fooner than the trade between Hamburg and Saxony, and forced him to lower it accordingly. however it is too high for the Saxons and Hamburghers,

Hamburghers, but must continue for some time within tolerable bounds.

Notwithstanding all the impediments cast in the way of it, the trade of this country has been continually gaining ground during this century. No doubt, the immediate causes have been the improvements in agriculture, the increase of population, and the greater approaches towards luxury, made by the inhabitants of the north. Liberty alone would however in time have been sufficient to have removed many of the hindrances which hoffile neighbours fought to put in the way of the trade. Whilst the neighbouring powers were increasing their excise and custom-house duties, and by fo doing stopping up fo many channels of commerce to their subjects, here they were opening every door both of exports and imports; and instead of feeking to raife, were inventing every possible method to diminish the taxes. This illimited freedom of trade is of a piece with the spirit of the constitution and of the city, and was the only means which the wife governors of it could hit upon to raife the state, But if the state had not been a single independant city, as the luxury which supports a free trade could not have been kept up but at the expence of the country, the illimited freedom

would have been very difadvantageous to the country belonging to it. The politicians of this place are in the right when they maintain that illimited liberty of trade is the foundation of the well-being of their country; but they are in the wrong for blaming, as they all do, the Prussian system of excise, as a mad fystem, equally destructive to the country and people. There is a great difference between a fingle independant city and a great flate. That commerce which enriches the Hamburghers, makes feveral of the Holsteiners and Mecklenburghers poor, by taking fo much money from them for coffee, fugar, wine, &c. and it would foon ruin the king of Prussia's best provinces, just as the flourishing trade of Dantzick has too much contributed to the impoverishing of the wide extended kingdom of Poland. If Hamburg had a large extent of country, it would foon find the bad confequences of an illimited freedom of trade, especially, if like the leaders of other republics, its governors would not prefer the inhabitants of the country to those of the city. In the mean time, the base clamour of foreign and domestic merchants, by neither of whom the king of Prussia would suffer his subjects to be plundered, has made him be reputed a tyrant by Mr. Wraxall, and writers of his stamp.

The

The fortunes of the inhabitants of this country are in a constant state of sluctuation. The expensiveness of living is the reason that there are very few rich houses; you can hardly find any that has been fifty years in the same style of fplendour. The immense profits of this grand commercial country are fo well divided, that you cannot meet with above five persons who possess a million; but the number of houses which have from three to fix hundred thousand guilders, is extremely great. But then as foon as a merchant makes one hundred thousand guilders, he must have his coach and country house. His expences keep pace with his income, fo that the least blow brings him back to poverty; from which, however, the flightest labour will extricate him again. Hamburg is truly fingular as a commercial city, in this respect, for you meet in it with persons who have been bankrupts three or four times, and yet have returned to riches. The man who has an income of from two to three hundred thousand florins, and makes more shew with it, both in his trade and housekeeping, than many Amfterdamers who have many millions, lofes in a moment his countryhouse, his house in town, his palace, his warehouse, his coach and gardens, and begins again as a broker; but hardly are his old estate and

country house fold off, than he has another estate, buys another country house, is able to drive through the town with two prancing Holsteiners before him, and has his garden, his coach, his gambling box,-till, heigh presto! he is a broker again. The inexplicable facility of making use of one's money, renders the Hamburgher here too bold; fo that he does more business with fifty thousand florins, than a Dutchman will do with two hundred thousand: but then he is more exposed to reverse of fortune than the Dutchman is. However, the fecurity he is under of not being obliged to beg in his old age, renders him quite careless. There are, indeed, no where so good retreats for bankrupts as there are here. If broken merchants do not choose to turn brokers and try their luck afresh, they have employments given them on which they may live very comfortably. Befides these, there are funds for the support of poor burgbers, words which mean here bankrupts. There is no place, indeed, where the establishments for the poor are on fo splendid a footing as they are here. Look where you will you fee that bankrupts have had a share in the legislation, and that they have fought to make themselves and their posterity secure against all events.

The

The great and frequent revolutions in the commercial houses of this place, give the merchant an alacrity which he has no where elfe in the world. The genius of trade does no where fo many wonders as it does here. The Hamburghers far outdo the Dutch in happy calculations, speculation, and fortunate hits; and you meet with more true theory of trade amongst the brokers of this place, than there is to be found in many thick books written expressly on the subject. Only you must not expect to see the subject treated with a view to finance, as they have no relish for customs, excise, and all the modern Iewish inventions to spunge the substance of the people. a salah mana manalah tamis

The quickness and vivacity with which trade is carried on here, employs a larger capital than is put into it by the Dutch, who are more expert at faving money than at getting it. The Hamburgher works himself up again with the same ease with which he falls; whereas the Dutchman could not make his fortune without excessive parsimony, and commonly speaking, is indebted only to his industry and saving for what he gets. Rich inheritances are very scarce here, in comparison to the sum of money there is in the place, as this is divided amongst too many,

and

and the ebbs and flows are too frequent. The great capital of every inhabitant is his industry and understanding.

The illimited credit of the bank of this place, is a certain fign both of the riches of the state, and of the right notions which prevail here with respect to every thing which has a relation to trade. The foundations on which this bank rests, are the simplest that can be imagined. There is neither paper nor any kind of coined money, but only a large quantity of silver, which is measured out by the pound. It is, however, the most respected, and I must think the most secure of all the establishments of the kind in the world.

The government of Hamburg is wonderful. I am acquainted with no commonwealth that has so nicely hit off the just mean betwixt aristocracy and democracy, and secured itself so well against the inconveniencies of both, as this has done. The legislative power is in the hands of the assembled burgesses. These are chosen from the five parishes of the city. The first college, or first deputation of them, consists of the aldermen, three of whom are chosen by the inhabitants of each parish. Every parish also sends nine persons to the second, which, with the former one, make a college of sixty.

Finally,

Finally, each parish contributes twenty-four to the third, making, when joined to the two former, a number of one hundred and eighty. The ordinary business is regularly brought by the council before this affembly; but when there is a new law to be made, or a new tax to be raised, after having passed this court, it must farther be laid before a general assembly of the burghers. The one hundred and eighty, together with fix assessed to them from each parish, must appear before this assembly, in which every man who possesses a house of his own, or an estate that is out of debt, or a certain sum in specie above the value for which the house or estate is mortgaged, may appear and give his vote.

The miserable corporation system, which, in other republics approaching towards democracy, often leads to ridiculous, and often to very serious and fatal excesses, has no influence here upon the state. No manufacturer can tyrannize over the people, as is the case in many other republican governments; nor does the happiness of the whole depend upon the will or caprice of a company of skinners or barber surgeons. Due provision has also been made that the will of the mob, which often overturns the wisest ordinances, and the most useful projects,

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jects, in countries approaching fo nearly to the democratic form as Hamburg does, should not eafily do mischief here. Before a law comes before a general affembly of the people, it has been tried and approved by the wifer part of them, which renders it not difficult to gain over the rest to the good side, as of course they will have confidence in legislators originally nominated by themselves. This legislative affembly is likewife fo numerous as to render it very difficult for a part to get the mastery over the whole, by the usual democratic artifices.

As these colleges are established for a long time, and are not eafily changed, the members of them are well enough acquainted with the true circumstances of the commonwealth, to be able to lay before both their respective communities, and the burghers in general affembly, an accurate and just account of the sense of every law, proclamation, or tax. The division of the burgher focieties, according to parishes, has likewife this farther advantage attending it, that family connections do not so easily acquire a prejudicial influence as they do in republics divided into corporations or private focieties. If you will take the trouble to compare this constitution

The council in whose hands the executive power is lodged, confifts of thirty-fix persons, to wit, four burgomafters, four fyndics, twentyfour counfellors, and four fecretaries. Only the burgomasters and counsellors have votes. It elects its own members by lot. The power being directed only towards the proper execution of the laws in being, is illimited, the natural confequence of which is, that both the courts of justice and the police have a strength here which they have in few republics that are fo democratic. Nor is government taken in hand here as in other countries, by persons who have no proper vocation to it. Three of the burgomasters, the counsellors, and all the syndics and fecretaries, must be graduated literati, who have given proofs of their learning. One burgomaster and ten counsellors must, confistently with the nature of the commonwealth, be merchants. The pay of the counsellors is fufficient to restrain the spirit of innovation. Honour, virtue and ability, are the most likely foundations to fucceed in being elected. When a counfellor abuses his power, he is obliged to leave the city. The number of counfellors is too fmall for the power of private families

The income of the state is very large. It is made up partly from standing sources of income, and partly from occasional taxes granted by the community. Some taxes are voluntary, and the burghers have the right to put what they think their quota into the purse which is shut, and the deputies

deputies dare not open in their presence. Upon the whole the taxes are considerable. In order not to let the mouth of the Elbe, on which the existence of the country depends, be choked up with fand, and for the maintenance of the several harbours in it, they have been obliged to raise some taxes, which in appearance are beyond their means. The aggregate of them together makes about three millions of marks, or four millions of livres, and is hardly sufficient for the purposes required of them.

The quick and conftant revolutions in the fortunes of every citizen fecure this commonwealth still more than its constitution from the mischiefs of oligarchy and family plots. They know nothing here of domineering or dangerous houses, from which none of the republics of the present day are free. One fign of the good government and wonderful administration of this commonwealth is, that it is almost the only imperial city that carries none of the fuits between its own members before the tribunal of the empire. At Vienna they mentioned to me several free imperial towns who had rendered themselves dependant on the emperor. by carrying their private grievances before the emperor's court. In the beginning of this century

danger of this kind, but in 1708 it was suppressed by the benevolent offices of the imperial court, and the zeal of several patriots of the place, and since that time the tranquillity of the country has met with no interruption. The bands of society are too fast bound for there to be any cause of uneasiness about suture events.

The only real cause of apprehension which this city has experienced of late years, has arisen from a misunderstood religious zeal; but in our time religious zeal, if it light any fire, can only light up a fire of straw, which is very eafily put out again. In the inftance before us, the imperial ministers, (whom the burgeffes have more than one cause to respect) and the wisdom of the council united, took joint care that the sparks should be smothered before they could break out into a flame. The case was this: Hamburg was bleffed with an orthodox prieft, who let it want for nothing that could ftir up a flame. This, by conftant blowing, he had at length fo well fed, that the people were for proceeding to action to prevent the catholics from ferving God in the chapel belonging to the imperial minister; but the police took care to prevent the mischief, which has never fince broke out to any extent.

There

There is indeed at the head of the present clergy, a man who would do our present philofophical age very little credit, were it not that every body knows the government only fuffers him because they are secure that his inquisitorial fpirit only hurts himfelf, and cannot have the least bad effect upon others. This gentleman. who is called Gofs, fome time fince gave fire in his pulpit against the pope and all his adherents; but this produced no other effect than his being compelled to make an apology to the imperial minister. The case it seems was this: When this gentleman first ascended his paper tribunal, the custom still prevailed at Hamburg of curfing the pope and all his adherents publicly in the prayer before fermon. The government wifely perceiving that this gave great scandal in fuch times as these, ordered the court priest to omit this ceremony in future. The love, however, of curfing had taken fuch firm poffeffion of the man, that he not only gave in a formal protestation against this inroad of the spiritual upon the temporal power; but the next Sunday, without waiting to fee what answer his fuperiors would make, fired a double volley. Upon this, the council took the best way of teaching the ill-mannered brute a better behaviour, VOL. III. H

behaviour, by punishing him with the loss of his fat benefice. Mynheer high pafter had foon philosophy enough to fee that it was better for him not to curfe than to starve, and so the pope and his flate had justice done them in the state and high church of Hamburg. But though this man has been many times publicly and univerfally hiffed fince this event, which took place twelve or fifteen years ago, and though he has been the jest of all the protestant part of Germany, and even of his own brethren at Hamburg, yet is not his holy head in the least cooled. He raves as publicly against the race of monks, as he does against the pope. He is the declared enemy of all public amusements. The theatres are a particular eye-fore to him. This, as the better part of the public do nothing but amuse themfelves with him, gave rife to a very humorous adventure. An Englishman who happened to be at the play, was so pleased with a piece which he faw exhibited, that he asked the gentleman, who fat next to him the name of the author. The gentleman, whose name is Dreyer, happening to be a wit, affured the Englishman that this very excellent and interesting drama was written by Mr. Goss, first preacher in Hamburg. The Englishman, full of impatience to

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be acquainted with such an extraordinary good poet, went the next day to make his bow to the reverend author, who, contrary to his expectation, received the compliment upon the fruit of his brain so ill, that he fairly shewed him the outside of his door. Dreyer, who had sent the Briton on the errand, soon after met him in the street, where the Englishman, without entering into the least explanation, gave him such a box on the ear, as very nearly brought him to the ground. Notwithstanding which, Mr. Dreyer has since that time played the antitheatrical priest several other tricks.

I have talked to you thus long of this prieft, in order to convince you that the protestant clergy are not as tolerant throughout Germany as they are in Prussia and Saxony. Notwithstanding this, the religion of the more fashionable people who inhabit the lower parts of the Elbe, is by no means so austere as that of those who dwell higher up. The mistaken zeal against public amusements is attended with this bad consequence here, that every other kind of pernicious excess reigns uncontrolled. Thus whilst no theatre can support itself in a city which has ninety thousand inhabitants, many thousand guilders are every day lost at play during the hours in which it is usual in other places to go to the play.

## LETTER LVII.

Hamburgh.

CINCE my last letter, my dearest brother, I have made an excursion into the territories of Denmark. As foon as I came into Holstein, which is still a part of Germany, I was struck with the difference of living and manners, as well as the diversity of agriculture; but when I had got some posts beyond the Eyder, which is the natural boundary between Germany and Denmark, I found a difference betwixt Germany and this country, which was as striking as any betwixt Bavaria and Saxony. When people praise protestants for their good fense, and freedom from prejudices destructive of happiness, they ought to make some limitations; as should protestants also when they pass indifcriminate censures on the catholics, for their stupidity, laziness and debauchery.

The Danes are at least a century behind most of the protestant states of Germany, and in no respects better than the Bavarians or Portugueze. They are the most melancholy, most untractable, and most clownish people I have hitherto seen. Their debauchery, bigotry and bruta-

lity diftinguish them so much from the greater part of the Germans, that it is only necessary to be amongst them to be convinced of the inefficacy of religion alone to make men better, when other favourable circumstances do not concur. There are, it is true, enlightened men amongst the priefts of this country, but in general they are as proud, as intolerant, and as ignorant as the Spanish priests. I saw some of them who were likewise very like the Spanish priests in their external appearance. They wore their spectacles over the nose, held up their heads, drew back the body, spoke through the nose and throat, and strutted just like the priests at Barcelona or Saragossa. When they sit down to preach, they do it as if they were in labour with the falvation of mankind. I vifited one of them, who passes for a great botanist, though he knows nothing more than the medicinal plants of his own country. He was studying his fermon for the next Sunday. It was long a matter of doubt whether or no he would give me an audience. After having converfed for about half an hour upon the wind and weather, with his two daughters, the filliest and most unformed creatures I had ever feen, who, out of real or affected modesty, never trusted themselves to look in my face, out

came their bulky and yellow-coloured mother from the fludy of her lord and husband, to affure me that he was extremely buly about his Sunday's discourse, which would however only take him up another hour, after which I should have the honour of smoking a pipe of tobacco with him. I was for fome minutes in doubt whether I should accept of this honour or not. It rather hurt my felf-love to think that I was destined to serve a clownish priest for the vehiculum to his fmoking, and I would have gone away, but that I recollected that had I been amongst the Hottentots, I should have been obliged to pay respect to the customs of the country. After waiting therefore some time the penetrale was opened, and I beheld my hero, a short square fat figure, the Trulliber of science, enthroned amidst a labyrinth of books, and encompassed with clouds of smoke which scarce allowed me to view his visage. In four or five minutes our conversation was at an end. I tried him every way, but no tone I could take would bring a word out in return. At length, after having observed himself that fmoking rather spoiled the conversation, he took his fermon in hand, and read me a period or two by way of enlivening it. Of this I did not hear a word, as the smoke of the tobacco puffed

puffed under my nose, took away my respiration, and obliged me to attend to felf-prefervation; but he was determined I should not get off thus, and so proposed to open what he called his treasure. This was a chest which contained all the fermons he had ever written, making in all eight or ten thick folio volumes. When he took out the first a cold sweat ran down my shoulders, which making him apprehensive that he might kill his patient, he affured me he would read only the texts of the fermons from the tables of contents. I bore it for one table with great refignation; but as he was taking down the fecond folio, took my hat and flick and hurried to the door. In no protestant country which I have yet feen, Holland itself not excepted, are the priefts held in fuch profound reverence by the people as they are in Denmark. Pride and insolence in the ministers of a humble religion, is ever a fure mark of little knowledge and a bad government in the places where it is found. The temporal and spiritual powers are by nature so jealous of each other, that there must always be indolence in the governors when the priefthood comes to have a certain degree of authority. Every body knows what an influence the Danish priests had in the fate of Struensee. You observe indeed, in

every part of Denmark, notwithstanding many foreigners are settled there, many marks of the overgrown power of the priests. In several places I sound prejudices conceived against me, on account of my being a catholic, by people from whom one should have expected better things. At Horsens, a young lady of one of the best houses, could not be persuaded that the catholics were christians. They look upon us in the same light as Jews and heathers. I do not believe that the king of Denmark, as absolute as his power is, in other things, could make as great advances to toleration, as has been done at Vienna.

The government of Denmark is the most despotic in the universe. This form of government has its advantages and disadvantages; the smallness of the country renders it easy to govern thus; and on the other hand, this very circumstance makes the people seel more severely the weakness and oppression of its governors. Denmark is in truth the smallest of all the European powers. It contains hardly 1,800,000 inhabitants, Lapland, Greenland, and Iceland included; and the Holsteiners, who live in a part of Germany, hardly make the number two millions in all. The king of Denmark's income does not amount to above

above nine millions of Rhenish florins, or twenty millions of livres, \* even with what arises from the passage of the Sound, which the seafaring nations willingly pay. He cannot cope with the elector of Saxony, and the elector of Bavaria is upon a footing with him. Without fubfidies, the king of Denmark is unable to maintain an army of forty thousand men and a fleet of twenty ships of the line only for a few years. The taxes are very high, and some of them are of a fort which are met with in very few countries. Here a man must pay for a license to marry. Our government you know formerly raifed a tax on bachelors; but the Danish and French principles of government are very different.

The emptiness of the treasury is the reason why more projects are entered into in Denmark than in any other country in the world; but most of them are only air bubbles, which are in general blown away by the first wind. The private interest of the projector is commonly at the bottom of them all, and the court wants not only the power, but the good will to encourage the projects of good patriots. The king, who is the only king in modern history who has distinguished himself by a public trial of his wife,

is obliged to leave a great part of the government to his minister. His step-mother, it is true, possesses a great deal of court-crast; but still the ministers and counsellors have the most influence, Amongst them, there are constantly cabals, intrigues, and revolutions, as you may learn from the history of Struensee, particularly his apology, which will make every man who reads it exclaim—Beatus ille qui procul. Another first minister has been lately dismissed.

St. Germain was very ill treated in Copenhagen. The late king called him to his court with a view of having his troops better disciplined, at a time when it was his intention to take part in the affairs of the north, or at least to make himself formidable. St. Germain was told, that he would have the command of fifty or fixty thousand men; but when he came, he found hardly any foldiers except the guards. The rest consisted partly of a wild undisciplined militia, and partly of a number of hungry invalids. There was no cavalry at all. The good king, who had only feen his troops upon paper, and probably, as he was not born for a numberer of troops, had not sufficiently considered them even there, could not easily conceive how his great army should have mouldered away by

St. Germain's arrival. Some of the ministry, who governed the paper troops, entertained hopes that St. Germain would play part of the game with them; but he was not the man for their purpose, for as foon as he found out that part of the fums destined for the payment of the forces went into the purfes of the ministry, commissaries, and officers, he fet himself with his usual determined spirit to bring about a reformation. He, however, foon found out, that even if the abuses could be corrected, the hopes of having an army able to take part in the affairs of the north, must continue a vain expectation. Being fatisfied, therefore, that where there is nothing, there can be nothing to reform, he told the king, with his usual freedom, that he faw nothing in which he could be of any use to his majesty; on the contrary, he was only a burthen, and in his opinion, it would be most adviseable to fend him away again.

The ministers were extremely happy to get rid of so troublesome an inspector, and the more, because they could not easily have got rid of him by a court intrigue, because the king loved him; for court intrigues can do but little against extraordinary talents, united with a true knowledge of human nature and courts, where especially,

especially, as the case was here, the sovereign is on the fide of justice as often as he understands it. After some trifling, and a great many under-hand tricks, the ministry proposed to St. Germain to accept of a certain fum of money paid once for all, instead of the promised penfion. Nothing could be more agreeable to him than this, as he knew the unsteadiness of the Danish court. But he was unfortunate in the end, for having never paid any attention to his own private money matters, he thoughtlesly contented himself with a letter of credit of fifty or fixty thousand thalers, \* on a merchant at Hamburgh, whom, on his arrival in that city, he found had become a bankrupt, and was run away from the German states and territory. St. Germain thought, to his last hour, that the minister was an accomplice in the robbery. It is well known that he was maintained for a long time after by a collection made for him by the officers of our German troops, out of their own allowance. A beautiful trait in the history of the Danish ministers.

Struensee, and every other man who had a grain of penetration, thought that the best principles of government which the court of Denmark could adopt, would be to make retrench-

ments .

even if most of their operations did not depend upon foreign subsidies, they would not be able to keep the field long against a middling German army. The militia of the country, in which the strength of the army principally consists, is raw and unformed, and the German forces, which have been raised at a great expence, would desert the instant they set foot out of the country; for they all detest a climate in which.

which, by reason of the unwholesomness of the air, the bad and unufual food, and the little attention shewn to their health, they are exposed to perish like so many sleas. Whenever I had occasion to converse with Germans in the Danish service, the tears used to run down their cheeks, when they recounted how they had been decoyed away by the crimps, and described the miseries of their present state. Indeed the instances of the extraordinary means they have made use of to get out of the detefted country are almost incredible. Befides all this, there is a want of cavalry, which in the present times is so serviceable, and constitutes a fourth part of the German armies. Innumerable fubfidies indeed would be required to put that of this country upon a respectable footing. It cannot be raifed out of nothing in a minute, on the breaking out of a war; and the maintenance of itin time of peace demands an expence which the resources of the state, with all the subsidies they can procure, are not equal to. The times are past, in which wonders could be done with a handful of undisciplined and disobedient troops, who were maintained at the cost of the enemy. The mode of war now in use requires preparation, and a provision for such and so many wants as would make the Danish minister's hair stand an end, if an account of them were to be

TRAVELS THROUGH GERMANY, III fet before him. Suppofing the Danish court to receive a subsidy of even a million of thalers\* per annum, which is more than the French or English courts have ever given to the courts of Stockholm or Copenhagen, this would hardly be fufficient to enable it to keep the field one campaign with an army of 40,000 men, and it would be completely ruined by the loss of a fingle battle. The short campaign in the Bavarian war fome years ago, though no extraordinary stroke was struck in it, cost the court of Vienna feventy-two millions of Rhenish guilders, \*exclusive of the sums expended on previous preparations, which are always necessary. The army was at least three hundred thousand men strong. Calculate what the proportion will be for forty thousand men-but what would forty thousand men do, if, what however is impossible. the court of Denmark alone was to carry on any operations for a length of time out of its own territories? The king of Prussia would swallow up this army in a moment, let him have ever so much occupation; for it is a maxim, that when a man is once engaged with great enemies, he will do well to add leffer ones to them, as a fingle stroke may get from these all that is lost on the other fide. What became of the Swe-

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dish army, whom French subsidies led into Pomerania, in the last Silesian war? And yet the king of Prussia had at that time to cope with most of the principal powers in Europe. What became of the poor Saxons? of the poor army of the empire? And yet the Saxon and Imperial troops were better kept, and at least as well fed, as the Danish are likely to be.

Denmark cannot, like Sweden, be compelled in any case to break the neutrality, nor is it necessary for it, on that account, always to maintain itself in a respectable situation. For more reasons than one, it has nothing to apprehend from Sweden, and its position secures it on every other side. Indeed, could it render its power ever so respectable, it has nothing to expect at any time by taking part in an offensive war, but a great deal to lofe; whereas the advantages it would derive from bestowing the fums wasted in military preparations on the improvement of the country, are confiderable. I have been thus particular on this point, in order to convince you and your friends, that our court added a new folly to the many it has lately been guilty of, when for certain privy purposes it gave subsidies to the Danish court.

The

The money was in every respect thrown away. Half of it stuck to the fingers of the Danish ministers and commissaries, and the other half was very ill spent. Strong as all these reasons are against the keeping up a great land army in Denmark, every day produces fresh projects to encourage it. The vain minister, whom Struensee has so well depicted in his apology, will not let the world forget that Denmark is a monarchy. He gives himself airs of aftonishing consequence. A few external marks of respect from the great courts, make him believe that he is respected, whereas he is in fact the jest of them all. A single word from the Russian minister brings the whole country to the Empress's feet; and she has at least twenty times more weight at Copenhagen, than either at Vienna or at Berlin. It will certainly be much more politic in Denmark to aim only at being a maritime power, which is more confiftent with the nature of the country, and the fituation of the people. By purfuing this plan the Danes might, with fome affiftance, make themselves formidable, or at least protect their merchants in time of war. But the Danish minister chooses to shine both by sea and land. The navy accordingly confifts of fifty ships, including those of fifty guns; however, not above fix VOL. II. of

of these are in a condition to put to sea under fix or eight weeks, though since the armed neutrality they have been making all sort of preparation to put to sea. Many ships have been repaired within these six or eight years, and others are no longer in a reparable state.

The facility with which adventurers of the first class contrive to make their way into the Danish councils, and even into the ministry, is no very favourable symptom of the wisdom of this court. There is a proverb at Hamburgh, that when a man is fit for nothing elfe, he is fit for a Danish privy counsellor, and may make his fortune by projects at Copenhagen. Under such circumstances much patriotism is not to be expected. Upon the whole, the Danish government is a visible proof, that despotism, notwithstanding all its great apparent force, is the weakest of all governments, when the head is not very found and strong. The ministers ride on the counsellors, the counfellors on the fecretaries, the fecretaries on their clerks, and the wives of all these on their lovers. It sometimes happens too that the minister is governed by the counfellor, the counfellor by the clerk, and fo on; all this produces an absolute anarchy, and the quiet and happiness of the country depends upon the throwing the handkerchief to this or that

that woman. It is no wonder, that in a court like this many catastrophies happen similar to that which took place ten years ago. Prince Frederick, the king's brother-in-law, promifes the country fome hopes of better days. He feems to be more disposed to do what is right, than to govern by faction or intrigue. His influence is however hitherto very limited.

Onmy return out of Lapland, I came hither by Lubeck. That place, which formerly played fo great a part in the league of the Hantz cities, has scarce half the importance of Hamburgh in point either of population, riches, or trade. The Danish minister sets his whole force against this place, as he has only Hamburgh and it to fear. At Lubeck, however, his principal operations are confined for the present, for though he makes the poor town feel what he would do by every petty injury in his power, he dares not hitherto come to open hostilities, as it is protected by the emperor and the states of the empire. He is therefore compelled to change his fiege into a kind of blockade. The bond of union betwixt the German imperial towns operates much more forcibly with regard to foreign powers, than is commonly imagined; and the article in the emperor's coronation oath, not to allow of any diminution of the empire, is main-

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maintained in its full force under Joseph the Second. It is indeed this article which compels our court to treat the small princes its neighbours who border on Germany with much more attention and respect than it shews towards the other sovereign states in its neighbourhood. It would not dare, for instance, to act towards the imperial state of Spires, as it has lately done towards Geneva, where it interposed with such great effect, after having formally renounced the mediation, and having hardly any bond of union with the city.

## L E'T T E R LVIII.

Hanover.

A L L the country, dear brother, which lays to the north and north-west of this, and is watered by the Elbe and the Embs, is partly sand, and partly mud and morass. Indeed the mud which is thrown up by the sea and rivers, is looked upon here as a paradisaical earth, as it affords the inhabitants bread and hay, whilst the higher countries are nothing but sand. Here, my dear brother, a man perceives, for the sirst time,

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the bleffings of a mountainous country. Through the whole road, from Hamburgh to Embden, and from thence through a great part of Westphalia to this place, I did not see a fingle hill, a fingle laughing landscape, shady forest, beautiful wood, or, in brief, any of the things which can give a fillip to life. In Westphalia I faw large heaths which were still more barren than those of Jutland. The whole country has been fubject to revolutions. It is a bottom of fand, which the rivers from the higher parts of Germany have formed, and to which they are constantly adding. In some parts the fea adds a quantity of mud, and in others entirely demolishes the barriers opposed to it, so that the inhabitants have constantly to contend with the water and frogs. The rivers overflow every year, and lay the country for many miles under water. The innundations of the Wefer are particularly terrible. When they happen, the cities and villages are as it were in the midst of a sea, and seem to form so many islands. The consequences of this are agues, colds, and fevers, which would commit vast ravages amongst the poor people, were it not that custom renders them hardy, and that they are in the habit of warming their infides well with brandy. To a stranger, however, the country must be extremely

tremely unwholesome in winter and springs The inhabitants are all through of the fnail order, yellow skinned, soft fleshed, and full of wrinkles. Their fmall round figures are very ftriking when you compare them to the tall long Germans of the fouthern parts. You hardly eyer fee rofy cheeks among the men of the country, and but very feldom among the women. They live here as in Denmark, failor-like, upon shell-fish, (which they render very palatable) fish, fruits, and brandy, of which last the wives of the common people take large bumpers. Of the fine fruits and excellent vegetables which the other Germans, particularly the Suabians and inhabitants about the Rhine, are fo fond of, they know nothing. The people are stupid, naturally melancholy, and generally fpeaking dirty; they are not, however, particularly in the Hanoverian country, fo ferocious and illnatured as the Danes. Many of the farmers here are very rich. The facility with which they dispose of their crops, the great fertility of their marshes, their fisheries, the great extent of land they poffess amongst the heaths, (which may always be used for pastures) and the government, which is ever very gentle, fecure them advantages which the inhabitants of many countries in which nature has poured out all her

her abundance, do not enjoy. In many parts of Westphalia I saw no small villages, but the whole country belonged to fome great landlords, whose estates reached many miles in circumference. There are, however, likewife some very finall farmers. Those particularly who dwell on this fide the Weser, about Bremen and Delmenhorst, appear in general not to be in very good circumstances. In many places they have their cattle in their houses; and I have been twice forced to reft upon a straw bed amongst the cows, which is indeed an accident that is fure to happen to a knight-errant of my complexion, as foon as he goes a ftep out of the great roads. In the small villages there are no inns, and a man is forced to put up with the fmall farmers, who have nothing to fet before him but brandy and potatoes, or some falted bacon, and brown bread made of bran. I cannot conceive how our troops did to exist in this country during the last Silesian war.

Bremen is a very rich city, containing about five and twenty thousand inhabitants. It drives a very large trade for iron, flax, hemp, and linen, with France, England, Spain, and Portugal, and in return takes back other provisions, with which it supplies Westphalia and the countries about Hanover. It also gets a great deal by

its

its fisheries; the trade for blubber with the south of Germany is very considerable. Stiff and sullen as the inhabitants of the country are in general, you meet with some very sociable and conversable people amongst them.

Embden is by no means fo fine a place as Bremen. The king of Prussia has taken an everlasting dislike to the inhabitants of this city, who, to fay the truth, when taken in the lump, are not a very amiable people. They are very remarkable for their laziness and insenfibility. It was a great while before the good endeavours of the king to turn this people to commerce and ship-building were attended with any fuccess. The East India Company, which he had established at a great expence in this city, was ruined within a few years of its erection, and certain republican prejudices, which the burghers of this city affected, rendered all the king's other efforts for a time ineffectual. At length the activity and wisdom of the government, attended with fome fortunate circumstances, got the better of the impediments to that extension of commerce for which the city is particularly well fituated. The herring fishery, which the king took every step in his power to encourage, brings in large fums of money every year. The American war affifted the king's defigns very much,

much, and the trade of the place now begins to be very flourishing. Embden imports many Westphalian linens to the south countries, and provides a part of Westphalia with spices and wines. They have also a considerable trade in cheese. Their harbour is extremely good.

The duchies of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, which the king of Denmark, at the defire of the Russian court, exchanged for a part of Holstein, with a prince of Gottorp, now make a very good principality, which contains feventyfive thousand people, and yields every year about four hundred thousand Rhenish guilders\*. It is from all these countries, but particularly from Friesland, that they procure the strong fine coach-horses who trot so proudly over the pavement of many Italian cities, and are fometimes, though feldomer, met with in France. The court of Petersburgh buys up several of these horses to mount its heavy cavalry, who look very formidable on this terrible cattle. The Dutch cuirassiers are supplied from Holstein, and in truth the horses of that country are preferable to those of Friesland and Oldenburg for this fervice, as with the fame strength they connect more alacrity and life.

Hanover, confider it in what light you will, is

a very

a very fine city. The number of its inhabitants is about twenty thousand. There are very good focieties here, to which the officers contribute not a little. The nobility is as polished and refined in its manners as that of any other German city. The country, which hereabouts begins to be more elevated, is not quite fo ugly as the deeper country round the Wefer. Prince Frederick, the king's fecond fon, refides here at present, and makes a particular circle of the inhabitants very happy. He is bishop of Ofnaburg, which principality produces him, yearly, a revenue of one hundred and eighty thousand Rhenish florins. Having come to this very early in life, and his indulgent father having given up to him, when he comes of age, all the province of the bishopric, without any deduction whatever, he will have an income of three millions of florins, or three hundred thousand pounds. They wish and hope here, that in process of time he will be declared governor of his father's possessions in this country, and refide constantly. His great income will make this a confiderable advantage to the city in point of interest, and his wonderful education gives the whole country hopes of a wife and gentle administration.

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Though some parts of the electorate of Hanover are very fertile, yet, upon the whole, it is the most miserable part of all Germany. It is about feven hundred German miles in circumference, but hardly contains feven hundred thousand inhabitants; nay, some think this is going too far, for though they have numbered one hundred thousand houses, our commissaries in the last war, who numbered the people, could not make more of them than five hundred thousand souls in all the Hanoverian dominions. But put them at seven hundred thousand, still you will find no other country of the like extent in all Germany, which does not contain more than one thousand souls for every fquare mile. The difference betwixt Hanover and Suabia, Saxony, Austria, Bohemia, and the other parts of Germany, is still more considerable; for each of these states has two thousand fivehundred fouls for every fquare mile, and some of them much more. The cause of the slender population is almost intirely owing to nature. The country abounds in fand-heaths, which it is almost impossible to cultivate. Almost the whole country between Hamburgh and this place is a deep fand. The difference in point of riches is still more considerable. The whole revenues of Hanover amount only to four hundred

and eighty thousand guilders; of which the mines in the Harts alone contribute one hundred thousand. The country belonging to the elector of Saxony, which is very little larger, bring in nearly as much again.

The government of this country is gentle. The great offices of state are held by active and enlightened patriots. Nothing is known here of extorting money from the poor. Little of the money of this country goes to London; but almost the whole is spent in the improvement of the country. The army, which confumes the greatest part of it, is large, and consists of twenty thousand men. They are the best fed of all the German troops, but are not near fo well disciplined as either the Prussian or Austrian armies. This, however, is the fostest of all the German governments, and there is a spirit of liberty throughout, which is a strong contrast to what you meet with in other parts. of the country. I had hardly been three days here when I made an excursion to Brunswick. Germany has few princes of whom it has fo much right to be proud, as of this. It was with a kind of enthusiasm that I looked upon one of the first heroes of Germany, though he had become fuch at our expence. The reigning duke is one of the first generals of the Pruf-

sian army. He is a consummate statesman, and the favourite of the king of Prussia. I need only mention prince Ferdinand to you, to convince you how glad I must have been to see him. He is only known to you as a terrible enemy; but his good heart, his extended understanding, his active zeal for the interest of mankind as far as his sphere reaches, and his affability towards every man; would soon make you forget that he was your enemy, if you knew him better.

Brunswick is the rendezvous of the German free-masons, at the head of whom the prince is. Most of the protestant princes in Germany are members of this numerous order. It is not long since the system of the German lodges has been fixed, and that they have acquired a kind of consistency. Germany in general is much indebted to this order, as it is certainly owing to masonry that many of its princes have become much more affable and gentle in their manners than they were before.

Four princes of this illustrious house fought in the last Silesian war, for the honour and freedom of Germany. The youngest of them, only seventeen years of age, died covered with wounds, under a heap of Hussars, who had been the witnesses of his valour, and whom he comforted to his latest breath. Probably you

the house of Brunswick, and that the king of Great Britain descends from a younger son. Brunswick is a very handsome city. It carries on a very thriving trade, and has a great number of manusactures. The number of inhabitants, amongst whom you meet with exceeding good company, consists of at least twenty-sour thousand. The whole income of the present duke is estimated at one million three hundred thousand Rhenish slorins, or one hundred and thirty thousand pounds.

# LETTER LIX.

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THAT ideal beauty, my dearest brother, which dances before the eyes of our artists, though it so often vanishes under their pencils, was certainly never taken from Germany. All the human figures you meet with between this place and the Northern and Eastern Seas, are so far from possessing it, that there are no lines of it to be discovered amongst them.

You

You would in vain look for a girl's body refembling the Grecian model. There are, it is true, faces enough with very foft strokes in them, but they all want the Greek profile and spirit. Nor has the fine white slesh the firmness inseparable from a truly fine form.

In the lower parts of the Elbe and Wefer, you fee indeed fome fnow bosoms, and some lily and rosy cheeks, but they soon vanish when the girls have once passed their bloom, and the whole is so flat and lifeless, that you cannot give it the name of a fine form. Even amongst the Saxons, the fairest creatures under the sun who are not Grecians, you seldom meet with a face which has any appearance of ideal beauty; and yet these are in the north, what the women of Florence are in the fouth, and far exceed all their countrywomen in life and spirit.

The men of the north are equally destitute of ideal beauty. Winckelman, himself, thinks that better models for the study of male beauty are to be met with in Naples and Sicily, than amongst his countrymen the Saxons, though they are, without any comparison, the hand-somest of the northern nations.

It is well known that no German will attempt to vie with the inhabitants of the fouthern countries

countries in point of beauty; but when you tell a German that the inhabitants of the fouth are stronger and more durably built than those of the north, they look upon this as a great paradox-and yet strength is the principal point of manly beauty. Have you ever feen a Sicilian wrestle with an Hanoverian or Westphalian? I consider wrestling as the greatest proof of strength. I also believe that you would not find in all the north a porter like the Genoese or Neapolitan carrier, that is, a man able to carry four hundred pounds weight for a confiderable way. Nor do I think that if both were put into the fame circumstances, as much could be done with German troops as with Spanish ones. We are not now to consider that in the prefent days the latter are fo much excelled in discipline; for in Charles the Fifth's time they were both alike. But the German troops in Spain and Italy ferved only once; and few of the armies which the emperors carried into Italy with them ever came home. On the contrary, the Spaniards under Charles the Fifth fought many battles with great reputation on the Rhine, as well as in Holland, the climate of which is fo different from their own; they shewed more valour, and bore more fatigues than the inhabitants themselves, who must have been

been subdued had it not been that they were affisted by external circumstances, and that the prince of Orange's spirit did more than all the Mynheers put together.

The national pride of the Germans has led them to give themselves a pre-eminence over the fouthern nations, which history, nature and appearances, equally give the lye to. They imagine that understanding, courage, activity, strength, and liberty, are the natural appendages of their thick and foggy air; and that the fouth is the natural habitation of stupidity, indolence, cowardice, and tyranny. On the contrary, confider what is deposed by bistory, appearances, and nature. History teaches us that light is come into the world from the fouth; appearances teach us that the Spaniards and Italians are much more frugal in eating and drinking, and probably too in the enjoyments of love than the Germans, amongst whom we include the Danes, the Swedes, the Ruffians, and the Poles: and nature teaches us that bodily and mental beauty are commonly to be found where the great creator of the bodies of men has appointed the finest forms, and the greatest strength. Let us examine this position a little more fully: Compare the understandings of men, as they are more and more removed VOL. III. from K

from the happy air of Greece, Asia Minor, and Italy, till you come to the North Pole, and you will find that nature does not suffer the inhabitants of the coast of Barbary, the Arabs, the people of the coast of Guinea, and the Abyssinians, to sink into the same degree of indolence and cowardice as the Greenlanders, the Samoyedes, and the Laplanders. What astonishing proofs do the negroes give us of bodily strength, courage, and coolness of intrepidity; a sure sign that the warm and genial air of the fouth, raises human nature, and that the bitter and cold blasts of the north depress it.

But perhaps you will tell me that at prefent the inhabitants of the north, excel those of the fouth. I allow it; but it proves nothing more than that religion, manners, and government, have more influence over men than climate. But these very manners, customs, and arts of government, which in the present century give the north fuch an advantage over the fouth, came originally from the fouth. What are our republics more than copies of the Greek and Roman? Crippled as our legislation is, in comparison of those of Carthage, Egypt, Rome, and Athens, it is only what we have been able to gather out of the ruins of those states. Have the Prussian tactics any thing better in them mon

TRAVELS THROUGH GERMANY. them than the Macedonian phalanx was? Can any one be furprifed that the people who dwelt near the Elbe and Weser, should have overcome Varus, when we fee that the North Americans, by nature the most cowardly, and at the breaking out of the war the most undifciplined people upon earth, are able, by the advantages of their woods, rivers, pools, and the extent of their uncultivated country, to oppose all the force Great Britain can bring against them? And yet the climate of North America is not fo adverse to the English, as that of the fouth of Germany must have been to the Romans; nor was Germany at that time nearly fo well cultivated as North America now is? Let a man conceive Varus's army on the river St. Lawrence, lake Superior, the lake of the Illinois, and the upper regions of the Missisppi, and still he will have no true idea of their fituation in Germany. They were far from possessing the facilities of providing for the exigencies of war, which they would have had in North America. Germany was at that time an uninterrupted wood; its rivers were not confined within a standing bed, but in feveral places formed immense morasses, too many and too visible marks of which still remain.

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The inhabitants of Germany, who afterwards fubdued the fouth, were no doubt indebted for this advantage to the wars which the Romans had before waged against them, just as the Turks and North Americans have become good soldiers by their wars with the Russians and Britons. What think you if any body had told the Scipios that some time or other the conquerors of Rome should come out of the Hercinian forests? would they have attributed any thing to the climate? No, they would have answered that the manners, constitution, and armies of Rome must first be changed; and that was the case.

But what became of these northern conquerors when the luxury of the inhabitants of the south had subdued their natures, and made them vassals to them? Were they not like the over-slowings of their own rivers, which thaw after a long frost, and lay waste the fields far and near with ice and sand? All the conquerors of the south, enlightened and erested; whereas all the conquerors of the north darkened and pulled down? This was the case both before and after the Roman æra. The Babylonians and Egyptians, supposing the accounts of the expeditions of the latter to be true, were benevolent con-

querors,

querors, like the Greeks and Macedonians. But what were the Scythians? The Arabs fpread arts, sciences, and humanity, wherever they extended their power. But what darkness enfued when the northern Turks had extended the bounds of their empire? It is a striking instance of the bodily weakness of the northern nations, that they always become enervated as foon as they have been fome time in the fouth, which they never could cope with long; whereas no history informs us of the climate of the north ever having been fatal to the ftrength and activity of the Romans. How did Cæfar's troops hold out in Gaul, Britany, and Holland? How did the Romans behave under the emperors on the Rhine, the Danube, and the neighbourhood of the Elbe and Weser? You tell us it is the climate which prevents the northern people from being hardy in the fouth. But were the Romans effeminate when their forefathers eat oatmeal pap? Were the Spartans or Macedonians effeminate? The generality of the Spaniards and Italians of this day, are by no means a weak people. It is not therefore the climate alone which makes the difference. It is rather the weak nervous fystem of the northern nations which renders them unable to bear

the contrast of the hot days and cold nights, which braces up the strong-built natives; nor can they support the change made in their way of life. The great bodies of the Dutch, Danes, and Poles, are bare lumps of flesh and bones, the former of which is difgustingly flabby. On the other hand, the lighter Italians, as well as the darker Spaniards, are more finewy, and more muscular, which is the true character of bodily strength. Nor are the minds of the northern nations less weak than their bodies. A proof of it is, their never having been able to establish lasting empires in their fouthern conquests. Their kingdoms were a bare accident of fortune, and they never had felicity of genius enough to form plans or knit the focial band. How differently did the nations of the fouth, particularly the Romans, manage their conquests? just as if they were still a fresh people, and had known nothing of fciences or arts!

In general nature displays far different vigour, a far more magnificent spirit of creation in the south, than what she does in the northern provinces. What riches, and variety, and strength, is in the vegetable kingdoms of the south? The shrub which surnishes the balsam of Mecca, and the plants from Ceylon and the Molucca

islands,

islands, shame the unfruitfulness of the earth near the poles; and the vigour of nature feems evidently to decrease in proportion as we recede from the equator. Our favoury fruits have all come to us from the fouth; and the better tasted and more spirited they are the less able are they to bear the north. The nobler fruits, just like the generous wines, which gladden and make strong the heart of man, cannot take root in the north. In the fame manner in the mineral kingdom, nature shews herself more venerable in the fouth, than she does in the north.—And in the animal world! How very different are the beafts of the fouth to those of the north! Why then should not nature, which weaves every thing elfe more ftrongly in a warm climate, also weave man more strongly there? It is true, indeed, that underflanding and morals are no exclusive property of any strip of land. They depend on laws, customs, education, and government; which may, and often do render the artificial man fuperior to the natural one. But the natural understanding awakes sooner from its sleep in a warm country, than it does in a cold one. Under a warm fun abstract ideas are much quicker formed. The fenfes are much clearer here; and the understanding depends on

the quickness of the fenses. Imagination, which is fo connected with all the operations of the fun, has more force in Sicily than in Iceland. The first force of the impressions made by the fenses, give the powers of the mind an alacrity in the fouthern countries, which is the true character of genius, and which the inhabitants of the north cannot reach by any cold abstractions which they may arrive at, from their manners, customs, or government. Nor are the fine moral feelings fo independant of the fine fenfual ones, as fome philosophers, who know little of human nature, are willing to imagine. The Germans, who charge the French, Italians, and all the fouthern nations, with indolence, flavery, and debasement of mind, forget that the Siberians and Kamtschatdales, amidst their almost eternal ices and fnows, are, according to the accounts of all travellers, the most cowardly, most fenfual, most debased, and most enslaved people upon earth. Nor can the glow of liberty be fo thoroughly stifled in Italy as it is in feveral northern countries, which appear the feat of despotism; nay, the governments of France and Spain themselves, are not so despotick as many Germans please themselves in believing them to be. The clear and dry air of the fouth, elevates

elevates the foul just as it gives tone to the nerves. All the persons who have breathed a sine western air in the mountains, speak of seelings which they knew not in the plains. So the air of the south of Europe is as different from that of the north, as the air of the Swiss Alps is different from that of the plains. As a proof of this, the hectic English go to Nismes, Nice, Pisa, and Naples, to repair their shattered constitutions.

But it is true, after all, that the inhabitants of the Elbe and Wefer, though thus abandoned by nature, exceed the Sicilians and Neapolitans as much in strength of mind, as they are outdone by them in bodily strength and beauty. It is true; and what then? The liberal citizen of the world admires the omnipotence of government, which is able to raife men so far above their natural fituation, or to fink them fo deep below it; but he does not therefore allow himfelf to contract illiberal prejudices against any nation. He congratulates the northern nations upon their having made themselves what they are, and rejoices that they are every day becoming greater and greater; but he does not forget that the people of the fouth were fooner great, and that the arts of cultivation, and light of all kinds came from them.

You will eafily perceive, from the nature of these speculations, that they were made in the post-waggon. My company consisted of a swine of an Oldenburgh dealer in horses, a clodpole Bremen broker, and a pretty semale piece of slesh, mere dead slesh, lying before me on the straw. There was not a word spoke all the way from Gottingen here; so that if the dulcis et alta quies had not been now and then interrupted by coughing, sneezing, belching, and the like, I should not have known that I had company with me.

At Gottingen I visited several professors, to whom I cannot refuse my utmost veneration, but who were all fo convinced of the cultivation of Germany, and fo fore fet against us Southlanders, that I did not know how to reconcile it with their knowledge of mankind. All these gentlemen spoke to me of the political and literary lituation of their own country with a veneration which often bordered on the ridiculous. This arises partly from national pride, partly from partiality to their own country, and partly from true rank Charlatanism. These gentlemen look upon our goverment as the quintessence of despotism, our academies as hospitals for fools, our foldiers as women, and our writers, to whom however, as appears from their writings, they are so much indebted,

as petit maitres. In a word, they confider the fouth as the kingdom of darkness and tyranny. and allow more sense and knowledge of things, to the Danes, Swedes, and Russians, than to the most respectable people in the fouth. It was this abfurdity which gave rife to my speculations in the post waggon, which were however much interrupted by strong jolts. Amongst other perfons I visited here was Professor Schlosser, whom I found unjust towards us, out of mere party motives. Possibly there are few historians in the world who know so many historical facts as this gentleman does. I found a most unexpected and extraordinary fund of knowledge of modern history about him. - He possesses an infinite number of living languages. His humour, which is somewhat too sharp and satyrical, does not always make him amiable as a private man, but often produces very good effects as a writer. What he is most distinguished by is his journal. It is published under the name of Political Letters, and is one of the most generally spread about in Germany, and other neighbouring countries, though Mr. Linguet has thought proper to call it peu connu. It is not like the English, Dutch, and French journals, which confift mostly of declamation, and reflections, which are commonly founded

founded on false facts and false reasoning. Schloffer's journal contains for the most part only records, to which he fometimes adds fhort notes, always interesting, and fometimes very fevere, but for the collection of which future historians will be obliged to him. False facts fometimes flip in, but these are generally rectified in the course of time; and upon the whole, there is no work from which a man may gather the present state of politics, particularly those of one part of Germany, fo well as from this. It contains numerous lifts of the population and income of many German states, and also of their agriculture and industry. As Mr. Schlosser is particularly bent on hunting down the follies and fultanism of German princes, together with abfurdities, barbarity, and monkism, he is not wanting in interesting anecdotes, which often give occasion to still more interesting explanations. This journal may indeed be confidered as one of the furest bars against the tyranny of the leffer princes of Germany: And it is certainly known that it has produced great effects in feveral courts. Persons of the first rank, and often princes themselves, send the author papers. The plan of this journal is as advantageous to the editor as it is to the public. It supports itself by the contributions of stranhebruo!

gers,

gers, and is not odious by any felfish or party remarks of the editors; all works of knowledge are accessible to the author, and the lesser princes who have any shame left are compelled to stand in fear of the strong censor who publickly exposes their shame. Mr. Schlosser makes use of all the freedom which the place of his residence allows him; and he often gives very interesting accounts of other countries befides Germany in his journal. The reputation of the work encreases every day more and more, and he may be affured that he will foon be univerfally read in his native country. In my own opinion, a fingle number of this work has more merit than all Linguet's Annals put together, at least it contains more truth. This journal marks the learned character of the Germans extremely well. In the German hiftorians and politicians there appears no marks of the acute observation, the piercing conjecture, and the elegant portraitures of men and manners, which distinguish the English historians and politicians. Every thing with them is made up of dry matter of fact, which they endeayour to establish so as to set it above the power of attack. The genuine lover of truth, who loves it for itself, and does not defire a particle of wit to be spent in its support, had rather

rather read a dry list of population in Schlosser's letters, than all the pompous declamations of the English travellers and politicians, who are often brought to shame by a few cyphers they read in this book. In every part of literature the Germans distinguish themselves from other nations in the same way.

Gottingen is a pretty little city, containing about eighty thousand souls, the territory about it is pleasanter, and produces more than that of any other part of Hanover I have seen. It subsists entirely by the university, which is one of the best I have seen. There are Russian, Danish, Swedish, and English, \* as well as German students in it. The students here are about eight hundred, and the professors, including the dancing and sencing masters, are about fixty.

The king of Great Britain spares no expence to bring these higher fort of schools into repute. The library, which is kept up at his expence, and is always encreasing, is as numerous as it is well disposed. The physical apparatus, astronomical instruments, the collection of natural history,

<sup>\*</sup> The English have, I am informed, been lately almost banished; at least the professors do not defire the company of young men so totally lost to what ought to be the glory of young men as they for the most part are.

travels through GERMANY. 143 history, the chirugical instruments, the botanical garden, every thing, in a word, bespeaks royal care.

The way, in the Protestant universities, of going through all the sciences in half-yearly courfes, which displeased Mr. Pilati so much, has my full approbation. Though it may be calculated for the advantage of the pockets of the profesfors, the scholars lose nothing by it. No sciences are thoroughly learned at any university. All that can be done, and that is done, is to give the student the elements of them, to let him have a notion of the parts of the building, and shew him the easiest way of coming at it. It depends upon him afterwards to travel the whole of the road. If the young man lays his foundation right, the half year's course is as profitable to him as it is to the master. It spares his time and money. When a young man comes here they commonly lay a Programma before him, in which all the arts are disposed according to their natural order, and likewife according to their connection with each other. In confequence of this it happens not unfrequently that a student attends fix or seven courses in a day. What then? you will tell me he will only be confined by the variety of knowledge.

knowledge. I believe not. The generality of young men will not be at the pains of digging deep for themselves. Lectures make a deeper impression on the mind than the silent meditation of a closet. We must likewise consider that the professors are able to give the marrow and result of the whole.

I do not approve of the lectures being paid for by the students. It is true, that it tends to keep up the spirit and emulation of the professors; but their independence of the students, were it otherwife, would in my opinion be attended with much more beneficial consequences. All that can lessen the reverence of the scholar towards the master ought to be avoided with the greatest caution. The studens are, it is true, for the most part, well educated young men; but still they are too young to know how to esteem a man of merit according to his real abilities. Too much reverence for him that teaches feldom does any harm to him that is to be taught. In short, cabals, conspiracies, with a number of inferior artifices, to which good men fometimes condescend, for the sake of a few guilders, but which lessen them in the eyes of the students, are the consequence of this part of the plan.

When

When Mr. Pilati fays that the Germans treat all the sciences only in a compendious way, he shews himself quite ignorant of the method adopted by the public profesfors, at least by those of this place. Almost every professor composes a plan of his lectures, which serves his hearers for a fyllabus of what they are to be taught. You cannot properly call this a compend of fcience, in the fense you affix to this name, when you give it to Boffuet's Introduction to Universal History. It is neither more nor less than an account of the method which every man for himself purposes to use in teaching his scholars a science. Another object, with those who make the most of their industry, is to lend or fell this manuscript for a few louis d'ors. true indeed, that some have taken so much pains with these syllabuses, that they may pass for compendia; but it does not follow from thence that the literati of Germany, who are not, it must be remembered, all protestants, treat all the sciences compendiously. Some of these fyllabuses, which have gone beyond their original defign, and are become compendia, are master-pieces of more value than several works in folio; and, taken in general, are an evident fign that the University of Gottingen possesses feveral most valuable men. Upon the whole, VOL. III. L the

the thorough freedom of opinion which is established here, the absence of the notions and absurd systems which keep other universities in bondage, together with an enlightened and gentle administration, secure advantages to these schools which are hardly to be found in any other.

Cassel is not only a very handsome, but in some respects a magnificent city. It contains about thirty-two thousand inhabitants, This is one of the cities of Germany which, as well as several others, the Hugunots have caused to sourish at our expence. They have established several considerable manufactures in it, one amongst others of hats, which are not at all inferior to those made at Lyons, in sineness and strength, and are held in equal estimation.

The number of the subjects of the landgrave, I have been assured is three hundred and thirty thousand. His income amounts to two millions two hundred and twenty thousand Rhenish florins (about two hundred and twenty thousand pounds). Add to this, the country of Hanau, which contains one hundred thousand men, and brings in something above five hundred thousand florins, or fifty thousand pounds; still the possessions of this house are not so good as those of a Dutchy of Wirtemberg.

This

This country is the most military of all Germany. The peafants are not only always difciplined, but always ready to march any where through the wide world. The fending the Heffian troops to North America, cannot be confidered as a hardship in itself, considering the intimate connection of this country with Great Britain; but the connection itself is a very unprofitable one for this country. The English subsidies can never make amends for the lofs which the treaty has hitherto brought on both prince and people. The country was stripped of all its young men, after the last Silesian war, and scarcely had it begun to bloom again when they were fent to America. At least twenty thousand Hessians, of whom one half will never come home, are gone to that part of the world. The country has therefore loft a fixth of its most useful inhabitants, by the tea-burning business at Boston. The taxes are very confiderable, as you will fee if you compare the population and taxes of this country with those of the duchy of Wirtemberg, whom nature has put in possession of far greater advantages than the has done the Hessians. Though the landgrave has remitted his fubjects a part of the taxes for as long a time as the war thall last, they defert in great

numbers, and go into Hungary, Poland, and

Turkey.

The military conftitution of this country, has, on several occasions, been as useful to the German empire in general, as it has been prejudicial to the people themselves. So early as the reformation, the Hessians contributed exceedingly towards maintaining the freedom of the empire; and the Silesian war would not have ended nearly so well for England, or the king of Prussia, if sixteen or eighteen thousand brave Hessians had not stood the brunt of our troops.

# LETTER LX.

Wurtzburg.

You will see, if you take up a map of Germany, that I have been true to my promise; and that I have gone through the holy Roman empire cross-ways and lengthways, through wood and through thicket, by dale and by vale—in a word, like a true knighterrant.

The Hessians, my dear brother, take them in general, are deformed to a degree. The women

women are the ugliest creatures I have ever seen. Their dress is horrid. Most of them are clad in black, and wear their petticoats so high, that you can see no shape—only the ugly thick leg as high as the knee, is most conspicuous. The men in some degree make up in strength what is wanting in beauty. Upon the whole, though not a large, they are a stout strong-built people. Here and there you see a giant-like sigure; but they all have large bodies and feet. Most of them are white; and their hair is crisp. Their way of living is savage. Their best food is potatoes and brandy; which last they give even to their children.

The people are much the fame in the Fuldese. The whole tract of country from Cassel to the borders of Franconia, is rough and wild. The people are like the country, which abounds in woods and hills.

The present prince of Fulda is a man of taste; who lives well, and loves expence. He is extremely tolerant, and no friend to the popish hierarchy. He calls the pope his brother. He is, without doubt, the richest abbot in the catholic world. The number of his subjects, whom he governs with great gentleness, and extremely well, amounts to seven hundred thousand; and he has an income of three hun-

dred thousand Rhenish guilders\*. He has founded several useful establishments for educations, and allows his ecclesiastics a freedom in speaking and writing, which distinguishes them from those of the other parts of Germany. During my abode at Vienna, it was there looked upon as a very heroic degree of courage in some profane literati, to declare that the council was above the pope. At Fulda I read these, and much more bold things, in works which are at least of twelve years standing. The palace of Fulda is a very pretty building; and I met with much better company here than I expected.

Wurtzburg is upon the whole a very fine city. It is fituated in a large plain very fruitful in vines and watered by the Maine. The prince's palace is one of the finest buildings I have hitherto feen in Germany. There obtains amongst the inhabitants, who are fixteen thousand in number, an alacrity, a love for the pleasures of the senses, and a freedom of intercourse between the two sexes, which you do not find in any protestant city of the same fize, and which bespeaks the great affluence and ease of the country very strongly.

<sup>\*</sup> Thirty thousand pounds.

I was ftruck here, as in Fulda, with the tolerant spirit and knowledge of the priesthood. who are far beyond their brethren of Austria and Bavaria. As these qualities are commonly united to good manners and good conversation, the ton of feveral literati, into whose society I fell on my first arrival here, did not surprise me. I faw, in fhort, that some favourable exceptions to the general character, are to be met with in the catholic parts of Germany, as well as unfavourable ones in the protestant parts. It must be owned that the former are far less common than the other.-Not that you are to think the fun in his meridian even here. I was speaking yesterday to a priest about the execution of the witches, with which this government has been so often and fo justly reproached. At first he appeared as if he did not understand me. At length he told me, with a confidential air, that the most intelligent persons were not fatisfied with the grounds of trial, as feveral learned divines had determined, that the woman who had been burned for a witch, might have been objessa as well as circumsessa, by the devil. I do not know whether you enter into the fense of this nice diffinction. It is as much as to fay, that the devil was not abfolutely in the circumference of her body; but that Satan, in order to

play

play her into the hands of justice, made the miracles seem to come from her belly, and blinded the spectators at her cost. I was astonished at hearing this expression from a man who possesses so much knowledge in his own science; but he was not one of the great wits of the place: and after all, if this theological distinction should in future save a witch from the stake, on the ground, that it is impossible to distinguish whether she be obsessed or circumsesse, the nonsense will have had its use.

The present governor is a very intelligent man. He understands both men and things, and is one of the sew German bishops who have only their own merit to thank for their good fortune and promotion. He is of an old but not very rich family, of the name of Van Erthal, and is brother to the elector of Mentz. His knowledge and activity recommended him to the imperial court, who gave him the conspicuous place of imperial commissary at the diet of Ratisbon; there he distinguished himself so much, that the imperial court gave him this bishoprick in commendam,

Wurtzburg alone is one of the richest bishopries in the country; the diocese contains about one hundred and ninety thousand inhabitants, and the revenue is eight hundred thousand Rhenish

florins,

florins, or eighty thousand pounds; but besides this, the bishop holds the bishopric of
Bamberg, which is one of the fattest benefices
of the empire, and brings in about seven hundred thousand guilders, or seventy thousand
pounds. Both these countries are in some of the
best land in Germany. They abound plentifully in the necessaries of life. Wurtzburg
gains a great deal by its wines, which are
carried as far as Sweden. They praised the
Stein wine to me very much. I tasted it, but
found it very fiery and burning on the tongue.
It is very full of tartar, and raises thirst.

Agriculture feems to be well understood in this country; but in their manufactures they are a great way behind, not only the northern parts of Germany, but their neighbours the Fuldans. These make a great number of very fine damasks; with which, as well as the plainer linens, they drive a good trade. The Wurtzburghers have no employment equally profitable. Besides this, as in winter time the Fuldans employ themselves in spinning and weaving; they are infinitely better off in their wild country, than the people of Wurtzburg in their paradise. The bishop, indeed, of the last place, has a sine manufacture of looking-glasses and china; but they are the only good manufactures of the place.

The

The present bishop gives himself a great deal of trouble to inspire his subjects with a taste for the arts.

In order to give this letter its proper length, previous to my fealing it, I made an excursion into Franconia, which is the least of all the circles. But the game I have taken in this chase is so very little, as tobe hardly worth the postage you will have to pay for it.

Bamberg is a pretty large, handfome, lively city, containing near twenty thousand inhabitants. What is most remarkable in it is, the gardening, which in no part of Germany is fo flourishing as it is here. Several hundred gardeners carry on a confiderable trade as far as Holland, with fmall pickled gerkins, a prodigious number of liquorice roots, onions which are looked upon as the best in Germany, and other things. They also supply the neighbourhood round with pot-herbs, very good apples, and cauliflowers. Their good strong beer is likewife carried as far as the Rhine. The common people here believe that there is no liquorice any where else in the world, and that this was planted here and given to this city as an exclusive possession for ever, by the holy Cunigunda, who lies buried in the cathedral, with her husband Henry the Second. As I am upon the miracles of this holy

holy pair, I cannot forbear communicating to you another anecdote concerning them, which I have learned here; and I do it the more willingly, because holy legends are the only things worth mentioning from hence. Possibly it may be known to you that Henry the Second, the founder of this bishopric, was, notwithstanding his fanctity, extremely jealous of this Cunigunda; fo that in conformity to the customs of the times, he determined to have the ordeal proof of her chaftity. After she had walked over the red hot plow-shares unhurt, he of course embraced his spouse, and begged her pardon for the suspicions he had entertained. It happened that fome time before, vying with each other in affection towards this foundation, they had had two new bells put up in the cathedral. After the ordeal proof was over, they used towalk together every day in the court about the cathedral at the time of chiming the bells. Henry's confort was one day fo mortified at finding that his bell had a better tone than her's, that in order to give her a proof of his hearty confidence and love, the emperor took a golden ring from his finger, and threw it up into the air, when it clung round the bell fo as to deaden the found, which continues dull to this day. This piece of gallantry is almost too fine for the tenth

tenth and eleventh centuries; but the old cathedrals of Bamberg and Wurtzburg, would furnish each of them a numerous, and not a very uninteresting collection of tales of knight errantry, legends, and stories of apparitions. The abundance of fuch tales, is a fure proof that the people are idle, and have not a fufficient number of useful employments to take up their thoughts and conversations. Psalm-singing, to which the common people amongst the reformed have recourse whenever they are tired, has not, it is true, that colouring of imagination which marks the amusements of the catholics in Germany; but it is more adapted to the notions of the common people, and gives them no false and dangerous opinions. I cannot here pass over an anecdote of a spirit from Wurtzburg. I was affured, that even to this day, from eleven to twelve at night, the watch cannot be fet in a certain street, on account of a very dangerous man walking through it at this time, who carries his body under his right arm.

Notwithstanding the excellence of the soil, the people of the bishoprics of Wurtzburg and Bamberg are upon the whole extremely poor. This does not arise so much from a neglect of agriculture, as from a want of frugality. It is however impossible that agriculture should

should employ all the people of so populous a country. It is no doubt owing to both education and custom, that we see so many beggars in a country where nature has shewn herself fo liberal. The government of the spiritual princes in Germany, which I have hitherto feen, is much more gentle than those of most of the temporal princes; and the abuse cast upon them, is upon the whole very unjust. It requires many ages to make a diffipated, and luxurious people frugal and industrious. The relaxed manners of the Roman catholics in Germany are in a great measure owing to the false notions inculcated into them by their teachers. Schloffer tells us in his journal, that a Roman catholic prieft was accused of herefy, by one bishop, and two universities, for teaching that felf-love was the principle of all human actions; that a neglect of the earthly advan-'tages which time and opportunity offer to 'men, was a philosophical fin; and that it was ' unlawful to do another a kindness, by which we might confiderably fuffer ourselves." These excessive notions of liberality and contempt for temporal things, are the true reasons why the Roman catholic Germans in general are, as Mr. Pilati has observed, better hearted than the protestant ones. The number of beg-

gars are themselves a proof of it; for if they did not find so many givers, they would soon learn to work. It would, however, be much better if there were no beggars, and the people were made a little more frugal. For the same reason it is that you find many more charitable soundations of all sorts amongst the catholics than amongst the protestants, though the former are so poor. The Julius Hospital, at Wurtzburg, is richer than all the soundations of the sort in the king of Prussia's dominions put together; but all these soundations are a new encouragement to luxury.

The mendicant orders of friars find their account in their doctrines of free-gifts, and contempt of the things of this world, (which they themselves carefully gather;) and they are also the principal defenders of them. Exclusive of the masses for souls, which, taken altogether, do not amount to a great deal, the catholic secular priests do not get much by the liberality of the people.

The benefices in the cathedrals of Wurtzburg and Bamberg, are looked upon as the best in Germany. In good years each is worth three thousand five hundred guilders\*; but you

<sup>\*</sup> About three hundred and fifty pounds.

you seldom meet with a priest who has no more than one of them. Several of them have four or five prebends in as many cathedrals, and receive from eight to ten or twelve thousand guilders per year. The prelates of those foundations receive from twenty to thirty thousand florins a year. The whole trouble of a German canon consists in his being obliged to residence in his cathedral for a month in the year. No other qualification is required of him but to be able to read Latin, and prove himself defeeded from a good family on the mother's side.

In a certain episcopal city in Germany, there is this proverb, 'that prebends make 'themselves.' In general you see them hovering round the ladies.

I am affured that every canon of Wurtzburg, at his first entry into the chapter, receives a stroke with a switch from each of his colleagues. This extraordinary inauguration is contrived with a view of preventing any prince, who of course cannot submit to such a ceremony, from desiring to be of the chapter.

Nurenberg is an ugly town, which grows every day more deferted. At the end of the fifteenth century, this town contained above fifty thousand male inhabitants, who were not

above

above one fourth of the whole; whereas the whole population now hardly amounts to a fixth part of the number. In the course of the last years eleven hundred men have died every year. Many hundred houses stand quite empty, and the others are tenanted only by single families. The inhabitants are still a very industrious people, and it is a very pretty sight to see the little children employed in making the various toys, for the manufacture of which this place is so distinguished in Europe.

I am furprised to find so many German writers laughing at these productions of the Nurenberghers, and making a proverb of their industry. Is not the great exportation of these commodities a sufficient justification of the mode in which these people employ their time? But these reproaches are the more unjust because Nurenberg has long produced artifts who vie with the best English ones, in making mathematical and phyfical instruments. You meet no where, out of England, with fuch good manufactures in steel, iron, and copper, as you do here. Will any man then fay he has a right to blame these people, because, amidst their more important business, they find useful and profitable employments for their wives and children? Nurenberg

TRAVELS THROUGH GERMANY. 161
Nurenberg is far superior to Augsburg in the arts.

The great cause of the ruin of this town is the ariftocracy. I could not have believed, had not respectable citizens of Nurenberg told it me, the ill-treatment which they receive from twenty or thirty families, in whose hands the government is. From time to time every citizen must have an inventory of his effects taken, and I do not know for what reason, give a third or fourth part of them to the regency. Exclusive of the evil of these numberless gifts, it is extremely bad policy in a commercial state, to compel the merchant to inform every one of the profit of his trade. These patricians have likewise a number of families in their interest, amongst whom they divide the employments of the state, which are very confiderable. All this renders it not furprifing to find that the rich citizens leave the city, and endeavour to emancipate themfelves by taking refuge in the Auftrian or Pruffian territories.

The morals of the Nurenburgers are better and purer than those of any other German city. The magistrate is particularly anxious to put a stop to fornication. I do not exaggerate, but relate a real fact when I assure you, that the vol. III. Myoung

young men of the city underwent a physical visitation by some of the members of the magistracy attended by physicians. There is a very characteristical print of this business, in which the deputies are represented in their business with their spectacles upon their noses.

Nurenberg has a more considerable territory belonging to it than any other imperial city. The number of its subjects in the country is estimated at four hundred thousand. These the regency does not govern in so arbitrary a manner, as it does the inhabitants of the city; or if it does, this does not prevent the country from being very well cultivated, though there is a great deal of sand about it. I have not beheld prettier villages any where than there is here. Every thing bespeaks a great degree of opulence in the sarmers, who, as well as the town's-people, remain faithful to their old dress.

The margraviates of Anfpach and Bareith, exhibit, in point of industry, a strong contrast to the industry of the bishopricks of Wurtzburg and Bamberg. Nature has not been nearly so liberal to them; and yet the inhabitants of those countries, though loaded with much greater taxes, are in much better circumstances than those of the former. The cities of Erlang, Anspach, Schwaback,

back, and fome others, have fome very good manufactures. The present margrave, who is the last branch of a house, which promises no new ones, is a very clever and amiable man. The wellknown Mademoiselle N-is his companion; a proof, at least, of his good taste. His income amounts to fixteen hundred thousand Rhenish storins, or one hundred and fixty thoufand pounds. His peafants are somewhat difcontented with him for having fold their children to the English. There were, indeed, great discontents amongst the troops that were to go to America; but the margrave was not affected by them. He feems determined to make as much of the country as he can, upon the principle that after his death it is to fall into other hands.

The remainder of Franconia is composed of a number of small principalities. The people here in general suffer very great oppression. Those are particularly miserable whose masters reside in the great courts; for, by this means, they are not only deprived of the spending of great sums amongst them, but are subjected to the tyranny of despotic servants, who are always worse than the masters, and choose to have their share of the plunder. The locum tenens of a well-known dutchy in Franconia, hardly

keeps his place more than feven or eight years, in which short time he commonly saves enough to be no longer a fervant. This will, no doubt, make you think of the fervants of the English East-India company, who are called nabobs at their return; which they, literally fpeaking, are, at the expence of the Indians. It is thanks to flanding armies that the people of this country are as quiet as they are under their nabobs. In the famous rebellion which broke out in 1525, and has been so well deferibed by Gothe, in his Goss of Berlichingen, they treated the princes, dukes, and other great persons, in a very strange manner. A number of these ruffians having made themfelves mafters of fome caftles belonging to the marquisses of Hohenloe, put collars round their necks, and cried out under their nofe, Now are we mafters of Hohenloe, and ye are 'nothing?' It was very impolitic in the imperial cities of Franconia, Suabia, and the circles of the Rhine, to be accessary at that time in subduing the peafants. At present the oppression of the princes falls as heavily upon them as it does on their own fubjects; a thing they might have foreseen, as these princes were already so powerful, by means of their standing armies, that the falvation of the cities would have been

to make a common cause with the peasants against them, as without the assistance then assorted by these cities, the insurgents would not have been subdued; for the now so weak cities of Halle, Bopsingen, Dunckelspuhl, Nordlingen, &c. were at that time more formidable to the rebellious peasants, than the greatest princes; but they have now no longer any such sortunate opportunity to expect.

# LETTER LXI.

Francfort.

I Came hither through the Spessart, which is the thickest forest I have met with in the common road. In the space of twenty-seven miles, I saw only a single village and an hunting box. The rest was almost intirely wood and hill. Notwithstanding all this, the road is a very wonderful one; and the elector of Mentz, to whom the greatest part of the country belongs, keeps it very clear from robbers. For twenty years past there have hardly been two instances of any person having been attacked in these frightful forests; and at present they are so secure, that you may travel

through them in the night without any apprehensions. At Aschaffenburg, a pretty German town, there are always thirty huffars, who travel through the Speffart at stated times, in order to prevent the possibility of an accident, If all the princes of Germany were to make use of their forces for these purposes, there would be no cause to complain of their military establishments, or the tyrannical manner in which their husbandmen are treated. beauty and falubrity of its fituation, encouraged me to make an excursion as far as Aschaffenburg. At some distance north and eastward, you fee the Speffart, which forms a half circle round this city, and protects it from the high winds. The country about this city is uncommonly fruitful. It is famous for producing a great number of apple-trees, with the fruit of which they make a cyder, which only a connoisseur can distinguish from true wine. It is often exported to the north as a Rhenish. I tasted some of it that was seven years old; it had a great deal of fire, but costs twenty-four creutzers the bottle, a price for which you may have very good wine.

The government encourages the people to make as much as possible of the advantage of

their

their fituation. They have planted mulberrytrees, and have made some very good experiments on silk-worms. On the banks of the
Maine, near the city, there is a fine alley,
which runs through a very extended plain.
You meet here with a curious memorial of the
sixteenth century. An old German knight, as
big as the life, and armed at all points, is
kneeling before a crucifix, at the bottom of
which he has deposited his helmet. The whole
has the appearance of an immense pyramid, of
which the cross forms the head, and the knight
and his appurtenances the lower parts. The
work is extremely good, and altogether exhibits
a very striking appearance to the beholder.

Francfort is a fine large city. There is no town in Germany which has larger or more magnificent inns than those of this place. Excepting Hamburgh, this is the only imperial city which keeps up all its pristine splendour. Whilst Nurenberg, Augsburg, and several others about it, are going to decay, it continues to thrive and to improve. The outsides of the houses are very splendid, and the style of the architecture shews that the inhabitants know how to lay out their money with taste. There are about thirty inhabitants in the place who are worth a million of livres; and you

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may name above thirty Calvinistical houses, who have thirty thousand guilders. The number of very rich Catholics and Lutherans, is not less: so that in all, there may be about two hundred houses who have incomes of one hundred thousand guilders\*, and above. There is a high appearance of affluence throughout. The furniture of their houses, their gardens, equipage, dress, and female ornaments, every thing, in short, bespeaks a state above the ordinary citizen, and which approaches the extreme of magnificence.

The trade of Francfort is extremely hurtful to Germany. According to the accounts given me by a very understanding merchant of this place, the exports of German commodities by this channel, hardly amount to a tenth of the imports from France, Holland, Italy, and other countries. The former confift of iron and other rough or worked metals, (which are exported mostly into France and Holland) of wine, linen, and other infignificant articles. The latter, on the contrary, are made up of all kinds of spices, female ornaments, handkerchiefs, filks, and, in fhort, all the expensive articles of luxury furnished by Italy, France, and Holland. In a word, Francfort is the great canal

<sup>\*</sup> Ten thousand pounds.

TRAVELS THROUGH GERMANY. 160 canal by which the gold of the empire runs out. The lofs which this place brings on the countries about the upper parts of the Rhine. Danube, and Maine, may be judged of by the value of the louis-d'ors. As all the payments of this place to France and Holland, must be made in this coin, they are commonly worth twelve creutzer more here than in the other parts of Germany, the country about the Lower Rhine only excepted, which drives the fame kind of unpatriotic trade. The older people of this place, as well as in Bavaria, Franconia, and Suabia, remember the times. when, after the operations of Lewis XIV. our louis and crown pieces were the coin the most commonly to be met with in the country. But now they are very feldom found in the ordinary course of trade. Very sew of them were recoined, as the mint cannot cope with the high agio given by the merchants in the course of exchange. They are, however, fent in heaps to Holland, and twenty creutzer for every louis-d'or is paid above the market price.

There are some woollen, carpet, and cotton manufactures here, and in the country round. These belong in part to the merchants of the place, but are most of them only rented by

them,

them, and a great part of the woollen manufactures of Hanau, are fold by third hands here. Upon the whole, the entire trade of this place is a mere Jewish business, which employs very few hands profitably, and is in a great measure supported by the internal consumption. The greatest merchants of this place are not ashamed of being brokers; and a great number of traders, with revenues of from forty to sifty or sixty thousand guilders, do only commission business; whereas, if they had more activity, and the true spirit of industry, they might make use of their money to more advantage in manufactures.

The situation of the place secures it the perpetual enjoyment of the advantages which have made it so rich. It lies in the midst of the best part of Germany, in a country the natural wealth of which is savourable to luxury, and which is broken into so many small states, that there is no cause to sear the prohibition of so-reign wares. It has not, like Dantzick, which carries on the same kind of trade, but is now nearly ruined by Prussia and Poland, powerful and enlightened neighbours to cope with, who are attentive to lose no advantages that may be procured to their own subjects.

Franc-

Francfort contains thirty-four thousand inhabitants, including the strangers constantly resident. Those who come for the fair are generally estimated at some thousands. Amongst these, there were at last spring fair fifty princes. As the way to the principal high roads of Germany lies through this place, all the persons of confequence, who go to the baths and watering places, commonly take Francfort in their way to them. This occasions a concourse of good company; and the apparatus of the fair, together with the liberty of living which prevails at these times, form together an interesting spectacle. The German nobility come here from many causes, such as payments and sales of many kinds to make, the neighbourhood of powerful courts, and various other reasons.

The government, which was formerly very rigid, has now fomewhat relaxed, and endeavours to make the stay of strangers as agreeable to them as can be. During the fair, there are play-houses, concerts, a Vaux-hall, fine walks, public dancing-booths, and women of the town in abundance. A village in this neighbourhood called Bornheim, is famous all over Germany for its brothels.

Excepting at the time of the fair, strangers, who are generally here in great numbers, are but

but ill-treated. As Francfort is one of the few imperial cities who have freed themselves from the tyranny of the excise system, the magistrates, who have loft confiderably by lofing it, endeavour to make themselves amends by making strangers feel the weight of their privileges. For inftance, the innkeepers will not allow a stranger to take up his quarters at a private house, even though he eats at his inn. The little jealoufy incident to smaller states, but which you would not expect to meet with in a city fo conspicuous as this is for its ton, fometimes also plays strangers scurvy tricks. A few years fince, two mistresses of a German prince, with very large revenues, fettled here, and spent large sums of money. After a time they were banished the city by the magistrates, under pretence that they led diffipated and idle lives; but the true reason was, that the ladies of the place, who could not afford to spend as much money as they did, grew jealous of them.

The ever-increasing luxury of the Germans, particularly of those who inhabit the countries round this place, the habit the German noblesse are under of coming hither to make a figure, the increasing care of the magistrate to procure

ftrangers

strangers every kind of pleasure, the admirable roads which lead hither from every part of Germany, and the excellent inns, are the reasons why this fair is of late years more and more frequented. It is now visited by French and English, who meet here with every article of duxury they can desire.

In general the inhabitants of this place are rather stiff in their carriage. There is, however, some excellent company to be met with amongst them. Amongst the patricians there are several very respectable persons of good nobility who have no share in the magistracy.

Francfort has ever fupplied, and still continues to fupply Germany with fome of its firstrate literati; and you meet here with wellinformed men in every branch of the arts and sciences. The only thing which stands in the way of liberty of thought, and refinement of manners, and also affects trade and industry considerably, is the inquisitorial state of the Lutheran clergy, who are here the principal church. The reformed, who, in proportion of their numbers, are without a doubt the richest part of the inhabitants, have not yet been able, with all their pains, to obtain the liberty of worshipping God publicly; though the catholics, whose religion differs much more than theirs,

theirs, from that of the established church, have more chapels than any other sect, and the Jews have a public and very considerable synagogue.

The number of Jews fettled here is about fix thousand. There are some who are worth a million, and vie with the Christians in every article of expence. Their industry is not to be conceived. They are pimps, languagemasters, fencing-masters, dancing-masters, writing and arithmetic mafters, and their daughters are at the fervice of the uncircumcifed. Those who go into their streets, are in danger of being pressed to death by them. They fall upon strangers by dozens, and compel them to buy their wares. It is very difficult for a man to disentangle himself from them without the help of a good stick; and they call to strangers from the distance of three or four hundred paces. The houses of their well-encompassed streets are filled to the very roofs with inhabitants. In feven of them, which hardly occupied a space of fifty yards, and were burned down fome years fince, there were twelve hundred persons. On the other hand, there is often only one family in the houses belonging to the rich. This is the fign of an incredible affluence, for house-rent is dearer in these streets,

streets, than in any part of London, Paris, or any other great city. There is a law which forbids the Jews to live any where out of their streets; but the magistrate winks at the breaking of it, and only renews it from time to time to extort money from those who choose to live elsewhere.

The celebrated colleges here are a wonderful institution. These consist of associations of people of the same rank, who assemble on a certain day. There are colleges of nobility, of artists of all kinds, of booksellers, of doctors of law and physic; and, in short, of all orders. It is not difficult for a stranger to be introduced to these, and the advantage he derives by it, of being acquainted in an hour with the most reputable people of his own rank, is incredible.

The government of this city is of a mixed kind, and very intricate. The contest between the aristocracy and democracy is warmer here than in any other city in Germany. Hardly a year passes but the burghers begin a new lawfuit with the council, or the council with the burghers. The consequence is, that as lawfuits carried before the imperial court are of very long duration, the law-suits of the city of Francsort, against itself, already amount to

fome dozens. I have it from good authority, that the state has laid out thirty thousand rixdollars, in the last twenty years, annually, in expences for law-fuits carried on betwixt its own citizens. And as the spirit of pettyfogging and litigiousness is no where higher than it is here, Francfort is likewise engaged in perpetual difputes with the princes, dukes, and marquiffes, round it, much to the advantage of the lawyers of Vienna and Wesslar. The costs of these, during the above-mentioned period, have amounted to twenty thousand rix dollars annually; fo that when we come to cast up state expences, we may lay this fingle article at fifty thousand rix dollars. The annual revenue of the state is about fix hundred thousand guilders, or thirty thousand pounds, which are mostly raised from the excise and customs. The contributions of the burghers, which are a kind of tax, are very numerous. They are laid on according to the true principles of a commercial commonwealth. They are divided into two portions, viz. the large tax of fifty guilders, and the smaller, of twenty-five guilders per annum. Every burgher has the liberty of paying to the large or finall fund, and confequently taxes himself. If I mistake not, an income of thirty thousand guilders subjects a

man

TRAVELS THROUGH GERMANY. man to pay the higher tax; but the magistracy of this place, has not, like those of Nurenberg, the right, so contrary to the true spirit of trade, of taking an inventory of the circumstances of a merchant. This leaves the merchants at liberty to value their estates over or under the line of limitation; and it is evidently the interest of every merchant to pass for a man of an estate of more than thirty thousand guilders, and contribute to the large tax .- The class of inhabitants to which all the reformed, and likewise a large part of the catholics belong, have greater taxes to pay. The latter may, by favour of the magistracy, arrive at the rights of burgesses, but not take part in the government. The former are intirely excluded from the power of becoming burgeffes.

### LETTER LXII.

Mentz.

THE country between this place and Francfort, particularly that in the neighbourhood of Mentz, is one of the richest I have hitherto seen, and the road is the best and handsomest I have met with in Germany. Till vol. III.

within three miles of Francfort, it is in a straight line, raised, paved, and guarded on both fides with high stones, which secure the foot passengers from waggons and horfes. The only defect in this road is, that it is too narrow in the middle for two waggons to pass. All the roads through the domain of the city of Francfort are built in the same magnificent style, so that it is estimated that every three miles has cost the city above fixty thousand guilders, or fix thousand pounds. The chausseé in the one and twenty miles belonging to Mentz, is not raifed in fo expensive a style as that of Francfort, but it is broader; it is planted with trees on both fides all the way, and very well kept. Here and there you meet with noble alleys of walnut and other fruit-trees, the villages at the end of which exhibit beautiful perspectives. There is hardly a road in Germany more frequented than this; the place of post-master of Hatersheim, a place midway between the two cities, is the best of any of the territories of the imperial free cities. In the territory of Mentz, each horse pays two-pence chausseé money, at every poft, and each of the three pofts brings in fix thousand guilders. At least seventytwo thousand horses pass this road every year, besides a great number of horses belonging to private

private persons, not taken into the account. There likewise go every day between the two cities two large vessels, which are constantly filled with men and merchandize. I met with waggons on this road, which, at a distance, looked like large houses. They were drawn by sixteen or eighteen horses, and, as the waggoners assured me, carried loads of one hundred and forty or one hundred and fifty hundred weight. They generally go from Francfort to Strasburg.

We came through the pretty little city of Hochst, which is situated very pleasantly and wholesomely, on an elevation six miles from Francfort. I should not have made mention of this place, but to set right a mistake into which Mr. Moore has fallen; in doing which I shall have occasion to lay before you a very remarkable instance of the political mismanagement of two different governments.

Near this little town you see a magnificent country-house, the architecture of which is not very good. The builder is an Italian of the name of Bolongaro, who, without a penny of original fortune, has found means to acquire, intirely by his own industry, a capital of from a million to a million and a half of guilders. He made his fortune intirely by the snuff which

which bears his name, which is ftill extremely liked throughout all Germany. This man was ranked in the class of inhabitants: I do not know exactly whether he was defirous to leave the city, or whether the government of Francfort had occasion to tax him afresh as an outburgher; be that as it may, he was called upon to lay an account of his circumstances before the regency. He offered an immense sum of money if they would take his word for the fum total, without descending into particulars; but nothing would fatisfy them but an inventory, which they infifted on with all the obstinacy and harshness of a small state. It so happens that there is a compact fubfifting between the states of Mentz and Francfort, by which the burgeffes of the one are allowed to migrate to the other, without let or molestation. Bolongaro determined to feize the opportunity to revenge himself of a government who had treated him so ill. He accordingly built at Hochst, and became a subject of Mentz, which saved him from the necessity of laying an inventory of his estate before the magistracy of Francfort, and enabled him to go there as often as he pleased, without leaving a creutzer \* behind him. Mr. Moore fays that the immense palace

lace which he has built at Hochst, stands quite empty; but we shall easily conseive how much business is carried on there, if we consider that Mr. Bolongaro now pays at least eight thousand guilders less to the customs at Francsort, than he did before, when his whole business was done in that city. He has also contrived that great part of the consignments sent from Bremen, Hamburgh, and the several parts of Hessia and Hanover into Suabia, Alsatia, and Switzerland, should go through Hochst instead of going through Francsort as they did before. The legislature of Mentz has much facilitated this by building him a crane on the Maine, before his palace.

Mr. Bolongaro has carried his revenge still farther. He took Mr. Beggiora, one of the acutest and most intelligent of his countrymen, out of one of the best houses of Francsort, and entered into partnership with him for establishing a commerce in drugs, the most capital branch of trade in Francsort, at Hochst. The bare sirm of Mr. Bolongaro was of unspeakable service to this trade, and soon repaid him, with interest, the sums he had advanced; but besides this, the partner enjoyed the exemption of customs which Bolongaro had obtained from the regency of Mentz, for twenty years. The con-

fequence

fequence was, that this new branch of trade was opened to so much advantage, as soon to put one hundred and sixty thousand guilders, or sixteen thousand pounds, into Mr. Bolongaro's pocket. All this shews that the regency of Francsort committed a great offence against the prosperity of the country, by the persecution of Mr. Bolongaro; and that Mr. Moore, who doubtless saw Bolongaro's building in company with the Francsortians, and through their eyes, would not have found it so empty if he had seen it with his own.

The Regency of Mentz were not, however, guilty of a less fault in their adoption of Mr. Bolongaro, than that of Francfort in their perfecution of him. The possessors of millions are not always beneficial inhabitants to a small state; on the contrary, a couple of dozen of weavers looms, which support an industrious man in a creditable manner, are at all times of more value than ever so many palaces of this Bolongaro kind. The court of Mentz has paid very dearly for the honour of having this rich man for its subject, by entering into contracts very advantageous to him, but much otherwise to the state. Mr. Bolongaro engaged to fpend a certain fum, I believe twenty thoufand guilders \* every year, during twenty years,

Two thousand pounds.

TRAVELS THROUGH GERMANY. years, in building at Hochst. For this the government of Mentz granted him an exemption of all customs for twenty years, an illimited freedom of trade, as much stone as he chose to take from the ruins of an old castle, and four horses free from taxes for his own use. The exemption of customs alone, and the liberty to leave Francfost, are more than an equivalent for the promised buildings of twenty years; but even these last he has contrived to turn intirely to his own advantage. He had made the regency of Mentz believe, in his boatting and magnificent manner, that in the course of the twenty years he would build them a fuperb new town, which he proposed to call Emmerickstadt, in honour of the dead elector; but all he did was to build fome houses adjoining to his palace, which no doubt Mr. Moore took for the wings of it. It is certain that Mr. Bolongaro scarce expended half the yearly fum he had covenanted to do: and that for many years the whole town of Emmerickstadt. from whence he dated his letters to all the world, was occupied by his own comptinghouse only.

Still, however, might the regency of Mentz have been excusable for laying out so much in the acquisition of this rich citizen, had some

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part of his money at least been devoted to the employment of ufeful hands, or some part of his substance spent for the benefit of the state; but excepting a few plaisterers and carpenters, no fubject of Mentz has feen a penny of Mr. Bolongaro's money. Almost all his tobacco is prepared out of the country, and even the greatest part of it exported from Francfort, where his principal warehouses and magazines still are. He only removed that part of his trade to Hochst, which he could not carry on so well at Francfort, and availed himself of the privileges of a citizen of Mentz, to hurt the former city, without being of the least use to the latter: nay, it is still free for him or his heirs to leave Hochst whenever they pleafe, and make it up with Francfort. In the mean time he has built himfelf a palace for the fummer in the cheapest manner, and furrounded it with common houses, the rents of which will richly pay him for the fums he has laid out upon them.

This however was only a political error in the regency of Mentz; but the universal liberty of trade granted to Mr. Bolongaro, is an unpardonable offence, both against morals and politics. This man, who originally was lower than the dirt in the streets, became a miracle of popular insolence. There are examples of his niggardliness,

niggardliness, which almost surpass all conception, and they are the more strong from being a fingular contrast, to the brutal and offensive magnificence that is peculiar to him. The pride of doing mischief, has led him to make his fellow-citizens feel the weight of his money in every transaction by which a penny is to be got. There were eight or nine retail merchants in the little town of Hochst, who contrived to live honourably, and carry on a small trade. Mr. Bolongaro could not rest contented with the great advantage his own commerce enjoyed from the exclusive privilege given him, but he must make use of it, if not to the total ruin, to the manifest oppression of these poor people. He therefore opened a druggist's shop for the fale of his goods in the retail way. The regency of Mentz, though acting upon much better principles than any other of the ecclefiaftical states of Germany, had still not fense enough to fee that eight middling and decent trades-people are a greater acquisition to a country than one very rich one, even when the capital of the latter is a thousand times greater than that of the former.

Mr. Bolongaro's abject spirit carried him still farther. He wanted a monopoly of all the most important articles of commerce, and to obtain

it,

it, offered the regency a large fum; but this

To fill up the measure of his crimes, Bolongaro brought a complaint against the fishermen of the place, for having hurt fome tree or statue in his garden, and infisted on their being deprived of the privilege of fifthing in the river Nid, which runs under the wall of his garden into the Maine. This too the regency was weak and wicked enough to grant: thus robbing of their bread a number of poor families, in order to serve a wretch, whose character I cannot better fum up, than by telling you he gave an old friend, who had met with misfortunes, and was come a great way in hopes of receiving affiftance from this prosperous countryman of his, a fingle four fous piece \*, and that the worst he could pick out of his purse.

I should not have detained you thus long with this trifling incident, but to shew how fondly the small states of Germany purchase the power of doing each other harm; for there is no doubt but the desire of hurting Francfort was the true cause that led the regency of Mentz to give this ridiculous protection.

I visited the china manufacture at Hochst; it is not hitherto in very brilliant circumstances;

histor price

it is divided into shares, the possessor of which are not men calculated to do what is best for the whole: they are, however, hard at work upon plans to improve it. Amongst other people engaged in them, I visited Mr. Melchior, who is certainly one of the greatest statuaries now existing, and has an unspeakable love for his art. There are but sew great works of his, though what he has done in this way is inimitable: but he is without a rival in small models.

and it is to his labours that this porcelane manu-

factory owes its celebrity.

The villages and farms which we met with on the way to Francfort hither, would pass for towns in Bavaria, or the north of Germany. They all befpeak a high state of opulence in the inhabitants. The beggars one occasionally fees, are a consequence of the way of thinking of the German catholics, and the opinions of their governors, which I mentioned in speaking of Wurtzburg. A peafant is in general extremely happy throughout the whole country. He is almost every where a freeman, and oppressed with no hard taxes. A little more care to provide employments for the hands that could be spared from agriculture, with a little more attention to education, in order to inspire the people with a greater difgust to begging, would make

make this government almost perfect. In the neighbouring country of Darmstadt, which I likewise visited from Francfort, the peasant is by no means so rich as the inhabitant of the territory of Mentz, for nature has not been so liberal to him, and he is loaded with more taxes; but he is cleaner and more active; nor will you see so many beggars in the streets of Darmstadt.

Till within fix miles of Mentz, the inhabitants live chiefly on their agriculture. The earth yields uncommon returns, and the corn of this country is imported far and wide on the Rhine. There are also large quantities of fruits and greens of all kinds; excellent asparagus and cabbage are the food of the most common people: nor is there a place in Germany where the people are fo fond of them, or have a greater fupply of provisions of this kind. Great ship-loads of their cabbages, as well raw as pickled, are carried down the Lower Rhine, as far as Holland. The little city of Croneburg, fituated on an eminence fix miles off the main road, drives a trade with Holland to the amount of eight thousand guilders a-year for apples, cyder, and chefnuts, of which last it has large groves. All the villages of the country lie in orchards of trees, and command large fields

fields of corn below. These numerous orchards make the country look a little poor, though it is as well cultivated as any other part of Germany. In the strip of land which lies betwixt Francfort, Mentz, and the nearest hills to the north of Mentz, containing a space of about twelve miles long, and six broad, they reckon eight little cities, sive large market-towns, and about eighty villages, sew of which contain less than sixty families.

At Wickeard, a place which is fix miles from Mentz, the nature of the country intirely changes; an arm of the large mountain called Wetteraw, extends itself here to the banks of the Maine, and forms a couple of large hills, on the one of which, Wickeard, and on the other, Hocheim is fituated. The fouthern and western fides of the former produce an excellent wine. The eastern fide of the fecond yields admirable corn; and the parts of it exposed to the fouth and west, afford the most delicious wine, without comparison, of all Germany. The little village of Hocheim, from whence the English give all kinds of Rhenish wine the name of Hock, contains about three hundred families. A prettier village I have not feen. It belongs to the chapter of Mentz, the dean of which enjoys the revenue of it; in a good year he makes from

from twelve to fifteen thousand guilders of his wine. He and the Augustines of Mentz and Francfort, have the exclusive enjoyment of the best Hocheimer wine, of which, in good years, a piece, confifting of one hundred measures, fells for from nine hundred to one thousand guilders from the press. This is certainly one of the dearest wines in the world. Having a defire to tafte it on the fpot, we were obliged to pay a rix dollar; it was, however, of the best vintage in this century, to wit, that of 1766. Nor should we have had it, but for an advocate of Mentz, to whom the hostess meant to shew favour. This was the first German wine I had met with which was intirely without any four tafte: it was quite a perfume to the tongue; whereas the other wine of Hocheim, let it be as good as it may, is not quite clear of vinegar; though for this alfo, if it has any age, you are forced to pay a guilder and a half. The whole way from Hocheim to Mentz, was the most beautiful of the whole journey during three miles. It lay along the flope of the hill, covered with fine vineyards, which are shaded from the road by beautiful fruit-trees. This descent commands a beautiful profpect, over a small, but uncommonly rich country, terminated by the conflux of the Rhine and Maine. The fine wine

wine does not grow on this fide of the hill, but on the other. From hence you descend into a vale, watered by a little rivulet, where cornfields, meadows, and orchards, form the prettiest prospect imaginable. At the lest, through an orchard of fruit-trees, you see the beautiful village of Kostheim. The way then winds through the orchards and vineyards of the large village of Cassel, which appears directly opposite to Mentz, at the end of a fine alley leading to the banks of the Rhine.

As foon as you arrive at the bridge of boats across the Rhine, you are struck with one of the most magnificent spectacles that it is possible for human imagination to conceive. The proud ftream which has now swallowed up the Maine, and is fourteen hundred feet broad, comes out of a plain which extends as far as the horizon; but at Mentz large hills come athwart its courfe, and compel it, after forming fome islands, to change the northern direction, which it has kept from Switzerland hither, for a western one. It is these hills, on the flopes of which you behold feveral habitations, which form that celebrated amphitheatre called the Rhinegau, the throne of the German Bacchus. The Rhine still keeps the beautiful green to much admired in Switzerland; and even at some dif-

tance below this city, the difference of its waters and those of the muddy Maine, is easily to be difcerned. Directly before your eyes you have the city of Mentz, which prefents itself with a majesty not to be described. The numberless boats which deck its banks, as well as the numerous and magnificent towers of its churches, are reflected by the clear stream. The length of the city towards the Rhine, including the fortifications, is at least a mile and a half. Amidst the large and something dark mass of old buildings, you see now and then a few new ones strike out, which form a pleasing contrast. Both the houses towards the Rhine. and those at the two ends of the city, are here and there ornamented with a rich green. In a word, the fituation of Dresden, magnificent as it is, is hardly to be compared with that of Mentz.

When you come into the city the beauty of the prospect is much changed. The streets are dark, narrow, and not very clean.—But before I say any thing more of Mentz, I must give you an account of some excursions I made from Francfort into the neighbouring cities.

I took a ride to Darmstadt, which is a small but lovely place. At Francfort they had described the people to me as stiff, but I found

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the circle in which I lived, and which confifted of fome counfellors and officers, uncommonly affable, genteel, and easy. Indeed were it in my power, I wish for no better company to make me relish life than that I met with at Darmstadt; nor do I know a place where I should pitch my tent so willingly, if it depended upon myself to fix the place of my abode. You are in the midft of feveral large cities, not far distant from each other. The company is such as you can only meet with in large cities. The air is good; the provisions cheap; and you have it always in your power to unite the city and country life. Add to this, that the popularity of the court, the delicate English garden open to every body, the magnificent parade, the number of agreeable women, and the hunting parties, which are to be made at no great expence, render it a most desirable habitation.

The talents of the reigning prince are altogether of the military kind. He refides little at Darmstadt; but the hereditary prince, who is constantly there, is one of the most agreeable and best men in the world. He knows nothing of the hauteur which encompasses so many other German princes, and banishes strangers from them. The income of this court is estimated to amount to one million one hundred and sifty vol. 111.

thousand Rhenish guilders, or about one hundred and sisteen thousand pounds; a great part, however, of this, is appropriated to the payment of the principal or interest of old debts.—
This is the situation of all the German courts.

This part of the territory of Darmstadt, which lies betwixt the Rhine, the Maine, the Bergstraffe, and the Odenwald, is the most considerable of them in extent, but by no means the best; it is made up chiefly of fandy plains and thick forests, the best part of which is the Black Wood. Some districts on the Bergstrasse and the Odenwald are uncommonly fruitful; but in general the possessions of this house, which lay in the Wetterau, are much richer than this part of the marquifate of Casseneln-Bogen. Notwithstanding this, there is a great degree of opulence amongst the peasants; their industry, and the activity and wisdom of the government, making up for what nature has refused them. The villages in this country have an uncommonly neat and gay aspect. The corn afforded by these fandy plains, the quantity of wood, and the large quantity of garden ftuff, together with the other produce of their agriculture, bring confiderable fums to the country. The little hamlet of Gerau fells from four to five thousand guilders-worth of cabbage, which is looked upon as the best in this

this country, every year. The asparagus of Darmstadt are famous all over Germany for their beauty and fize: at feveral places they likewife make a wine, which is very tolerable.

The peafants of this country are a very strong and handsome race of men, well boned and well finewed. Better or more active troops than the three Darmstadt regiments of infantry, are not to be feen in Germany; the Prussian troops themselves not excepted. They consist of about 6000 men. The regiment of them quartered at Pirmafentz is visited and admired by our officers from Stratzburg, Landau, Fort Lewis, and other places. It is indeed a pattern of discipline, economy, and good behaviour. The wonderful military talents of the Prince of Darmstadt give the greatest expectations of the regiment called formerly the Royal Baviere, which he commanded in our army. This prince is commonly much blamed for his military turn; but his troops are really no detriment to the country; it is incredible how little they cost; and as they have frequent furloughs granted, agriculture fuffers nothing from them: they are, in fact, only a well-disciplined and well-regulated militia. Nor is the military education without its advantages in other respects; one immediately sees, upon looking at these peasants, that they have feen

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feen fervice; for the natural consequences of it, a peculiar degree of order, cleanliness, and activity, distinguish them from their neighbours. Nor are these troops commodities for the market, like those of many other German princes. The English dealer, General Faweet, offered a much higher price for them than what he gave the Landgrave of Hesse; but he met with a slat denial, though his money would have been of great service for the payment of old debts.

In my way from Aschaffenburg to Francfort, I came through Hanau. The country belonging to the prince of that name produces a great deal of corn, wood, wine, and falt, which may bring in about fifty thousand Rhenish guilders, or about five thousand pounds yearly. Hanau is a very pretty and well-peopled city, in which there are feveral manufactures, particularly of woollen stuffs. The reigning prince is the most amiable man I have yet met with amongst the German potentates. Every stranger who has either rank, merit, or knowledge, to diftinguish him, is secure of a good reception at his court. I am acquainted with no person of that high rank, who lets a stranger feel his elevation fo little as this fovereign does. He can fo thoroughly divest himself of his station, that I know few persons who equal him either

in the choice or enjoyment of the pleasures of society. His brother is as amiable as himself; they are both zealous free-masons. He is blamed, as well as the Prince of Darmstadt, on account of the number of his troops; but as he is heir of Cassel, the government of which is intirely military, this reproach is of little consequence.

Francfort commands a most beautiful country on all sides. The villages and hamlets of this country would pass for towns in other places. In all Bavaria there is not a city, excepting Munich only, which can vie with the hamlet of Hosenbach, three miles distant from Francfort, either in beauty, population, or riches.

I made an excursion, with a gentleman of Francfort, to Homberg von der Hobe, the residence of a prince of the house of Hesse, who takes his name from this little town. The territory of this prince consists only of a sew small villages, in one of which there is a very rich colony of Hugonots. The proper name of this is Fredericksdorf, but in the whole country they call it Walschdorf. This arises from our being called Welches in this country; a name which in Bavaria and Austria is commonly given to the Italians. There are good manufactures here, particularly of various woollen stuffs. The court is like

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the city, exceedingly fmall; but strangers are made very welcome. The princess, who is a fifter to the late Grand Dutchess of Russia, the Dutchess of Weimar, and the Margravine of Baden, is one of the most respectable women I have ever feen. The education of these four princesses does the utmost honour to all Germany, as well as to their respectable mother, whose magnificent grave, in the park of Darmstadt, is a lasting memorial of her uncorrupt tafte and noble way of thinking. The Prince of Homberg is also a well-educated man; fo that this court, fmall as it is, was one of those I admired most in all Germany. The whole of its income does not amount to more than one hundred thousand rix dollars, or ten thousand pounds,

The country betwixt Francfort, Homberg, Cronberg, and Rodelheim, is thick fet with villages and hamlets, which form the prettieft inland picture imaginable. You feldom meet with a pleasanter landscape than from the view at Oberursel, a large hamlet in the territory of Mentz, which lies between Cronberg and Homberg. The noise of some iron and copper hammers has an exceeding good effect.

We met with an adventure in this country, which I shall all my life long recollect with the greatest pleasure. Behind Cronberg the mountain called

Altkoniger,

Althoniger, or the old king, raises its bare head high above the ridge of hills, which protect the fine plain along the fide of the Maine, between Francfort and Mentz, from the rude North wind. They tell many strange stories of this hill, and of an old ruinous castle which stands on it. We ascended him with some difficulty, but at the top met with a spectacle which will never go out of my remembrance. Directly to the fouth you overlook a plain thirty-three miles broad, which is terminated by the fummits of the Odenwalde and the Spessart. Here you may difcern all the villages, hamlets, and towns, which lie between Francfort and the Maine; together with a great part of the country of Darmstadt. The eastern view is closed by the Speffart, which is fifty-one miles distant. The whole country of Aschaffenburg, along the Maine, along the Necker, and as far as the Donnersberg in the Upper Palatinate, lay like a map under our feet. These extensive profpects are common enough in many countries, but you feldom find them fo thickly fprinkled with the smiling habitations of men. Behind you to the northward, and on both fides to the west and north-east, you overlook partly barren or well-wooded mountains, and partly the most agreeable mixture of foft hills and plains that

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can be conceived. Directly against the west, the row of mountains forms the finest amphitheatre that can be conceived. The finest fight, however, was that which we faw the next morn-There is a fpot on this mountain very favourable for feeing the rifing-fun. In order to enjoy this spectacle, we had provided ourselves with pelliffes, to guard against the cold, but were obliged to make a fire of wood in the night, though after one of the warmest days in August. The rife of the morning, however, fully overpaid us for the toils of the night. Never did I feel my own existence, or that of the being which animates all nature more fully, than at the instant in which the first ray of the morn gilded the tops of the Spessart and Odenwalde, both which at a diffance appeared to be islands of fire. As far as this hill all was thick darkness; but this eastern view appeared like an illuminated island fwimming on the black ocean of night. The morning spreading wider and wider shewed us the most beautiful landscape in miniature that we had ever feen. We beheld villages afar off in the shade, which one ray of the morningfun broke through and dispelled the darkness of. By degrees we faw the separation of the hills, with their feveral breaks and windings. Every thing looked as it does when you fee a fine and

well-illumined landscape through a perspectiveglass. A pressure never before experienced took poffession of my breast on beholding this scene. But the first break of the sun himself furpaffed all the beauties of the day-break. The grandeur, variety, and magnificence of this appearance, is above all description. The plain, feventy-five miles long, and forty-two miles broad, which lies betwixt the Speffart, the Donnersberg, the western part of the Odenwalde. and our hills, was overspread with large streaks of light, which contrasted in the strongest manner with the thickness of the shades. We beheld the top of the Donnersberg gilded over, whilft deep darkness brooded at his feet and all over the Rhine beneath. We ourselves were in light, but the plains and villages beneath us were in a kind of half darkness, only broken by the reflection of the light from our hills. The elevated parts of the immense plains, which lay before us, broke through the darkness with a cheerfulness, which brought them half as near again to us, and produced the most agreeable deception. Now a spire emerged from the gloom, then the fummit of a hill covered with wood, then a whole village with its trees feemed to swim on the earth; here lay a cornfield in light, by which it feemed, if I may use the

the expression, as it were, parted and raised up from the country round. The Maine, which hitherto had appeared like a dark stripe of the prospect, began likewise to be illuminated with silver; and the Rhine was soon brought nearer to our eyes in the same manner. But I feel that I am attempting to describe a scene above all description; and, for the describing of which I have no talents. In brief, I have often seen the sun rise, but never so magnificently as upon the Alt-Konig. It is indeed most likely that a man may go through many countries, without meeting with so favourable a spot as this is for such an object.

# LETTER LXIII.

Mentz.

TRAVELLERS, who do not care for the trouble of moving far from their head quarters, carry away no very favourable impression of this town with them. The best part of it is that in which there are hardly any inns, or any thoroughfares. The inn of the Three-Crowns, which is far the best in the place, and indeed an excellent one, is in the very worst

fituation imaginable. From hence you may wander over the greatest part of the town, without meeting with any thing but a heap of black houses, many of which threaten to fall into the narrow ftreets. It was owing to these causes that I had heard fuch very different accounts of this town before I came into it; fome describing it as a fink, and others as one of the best towns in Germany. A few days ago I met with a countryman of ours, an aventurier, who, finding his account in being here, like feveral other gentlemen of his class, would have stood me out that it was the only handsome town in Germany. As the good gentleman had feen nothing but Cologne, Treves, and a part of Westphalia, the only answer that I could make him was, that Germany was very large.

The northern part of the city, in which the archbishop resides, is sull of very regular buildings. Here are three regular streets, called the Blerchen, which run parallel to each other from the banks of the Rhine to 600 yards within the city, and are cut almost regularly by very pretty cross streets. The archbishop's palace has a most commanding view of these streets, the Rhine, and the Rhinegau. There are also some good buildings in the old part of the city. The market of beasts is extremely well worth

feeing; and you here and there meet with other agreeable spots. The market in the middle of the town, though not regular, is one of the prettiest places I have met with in Germany.

The cathedral is well worthy notice. It is an immense large old Gothic building, the spire of which was struck with lightning seventeen years ago, and intirely laid in ashes. As it was made of a forest of wood, it burned fourteen hours before it was intirely confumed. To prevent these accidents for the future, the chapter had the present one built to the same height in stone, an undertaking which cost them forty thousand guilders, or four thousand pounds. It is a great pity that it is overloaded with small ornaments, and a still greater, that this wonderful edifice is fo choaked up with shops and houses. as to be hardly more than half visible. As, however, houses and shops are very dear in this part of the town, one cannot be very angry with the chapter for chusing rather to make the most of its ground, than to shew off the church to the best advantage. The rent of a shop and a single room to live in is one hundred and fifty guilders, or fifteen pounds per annum in this part of the town.

You will hardly find another church in Germany of the height and length of this cathedral. The infide of it is decorated with feveral magnifi-

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cent monuments of princes and other great personages. Amongst the rest, I admired the monument of a prelate belonging to this cathedral, whose name was Dahlberg. It was made by the flatuary Melchior, whom I mentioned to you in my last letter. The prelate, as large as the life, is lying on a coffin, upon which there is a pyramid, which a Trinity is carrying into the clouds. The work is very fine, but it would have been much finer if the sculptor had been suffered to follow his own ideas. There is likewife a fine piece of flatuary in the upper choir; it reprefents a count of Lamberg, who commanded the imperial troops, which drove our forces out of the territory of Mentz at the beginning of this century, and was killed by the fide of an elector palatine, during the action, by a musket ball-he is lifting up the top of his coffin with his right hand, and holds the commander's staff with his left: this has an exceeding good effect. This church contains feveral other monuments well worth feeing. The Treasury is very superior to that of Drefden, which has been fo much fpoken of.

Besides the cathedral, the city of Mentz contains feveral other churches in the modern style. very well worth feeing. St. Peter's, and the Jesuit's church, though both too much loaded with ornament, are among this number. The

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church of the Augustines, of which the inhabitants of Mentz are so proud, is a master-piece of bad taste; but that of Ignatius, though little is said about it, would be a model of the antique, if here likewise there had not been too much ornament lavished. Upon the whole, the palaces of the noblesse want that noble simplicity, which alone constitutes true beauty and magnificence.

In another century the externals of the city will be quite changed. The late prince built a great deal, and the present has a taste for the fame fort of expence. The monks and governors of hospitals also have been forced to rebuild their houses; so that when a few more streets are made broader and straighter, the whole will have no bad appearance. The inhabitants, who, together with the garrison, amount to thirty thousand, are a good kind of people, who, like all the catholics of Germany, make great account of a good table. Their faces are interesting, and they are not deficient either in wit or activity. In a few generations more their minds will be as cultivated as those of their protestant brethren, as the government has distinguished itself, for the fixteen or eighteen years past, by excellent establishments for education. As things now are, there is no catholic state in Germany,

Germany which contains fo many deep thinking. and truly learned men as this does. Under the last government the liberty both of thinking and writing was carried almost as far as it could go: and though various confiderations, such as connections with the late empress, apprehensions of the priefthood, family motives, and other causes. have made it formewhat less in the prefent times; ftill however philosophy makes its way. In the mean time conviction is not wanting, and the theory is as perfect as can be defired. The archbishop himself, like his brother the bishop of Wurtzburg, is a man whom the knowledge of men and things have raifed to the poffession of many great places: they were his merits alone that engaged the emperor to recommend him upon the vacancy of this fee. You meet with very well-informed men amongst his counsellors and ministers, one of whom is equal to the task of governing a much greater country than the electorate of Mentz.

It was probably out of respect for the imperial court, at which the archbishop was some time minister of Mentz, that he introduced several innovations here not a little detrimental to the welfare of the state. He is one of the great imitators of the empress's establishments for the preservation of chastity. He has also established

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established it as a maxim in his consistory, to compel the man who has feduced a woman to marry her, in order to prevent the bad confequences of whoredom and fornication. Pity that the enlightened prelate does not fee the bad confequences which must arise from such affociations. They shewed me young men here, who had become husbands in this way: A lofs of all true love and fidelity, the unfruitfulness of the marriage bed, adultery, and the most scandalous corruptions of every kind, must ensue from such regulations. Formerly the same laws were established at Naples; but experience foon taught that wife legislature, that they were detrimental; and the whores were left to their fate. The emperor has likewife repealed them at Vienna; nor will it be long before all the world is convinced that every physical interposition in matters of bare morality must be prejudicial. It is said, indeed, that laws of this kind prevent the murder of baftard children; but those who argue thus do not consider that the coolness they introduce between the married pairs, and the other diforders they give rife to, occasion murders by the dozens. It is indeed too cruel to make the whole happiness of a young man's life depend upon the feduction of an hour.

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There are few cities in Germany, besides Vienna, which contain fo rich and numerous a nobility as this does: there are some houses here. which have estates of one hundred thousand guilders, or ten thousand pounds a year. Counts of Baffenheim, Schonborn, Stadion, Ingelheim, Elz, Oftein, and Walderdorf, and the Lords of Dahlberg, Breitenbach, with fome others, have incomes of from thirty to one hundred thousand guilders. Sixteen or eighteen houses have from fifteen to thirty thousand guilders, annual revenue. The nobility of this place are some of the oldest and most untainted in Germany. The fat canonries, and the hopes of fome time or other producing an elector, make them fo careful to preferve themselves pure. How profitable it is for a family to fee one of its branches on the archiepiscopal throne, you may gather from hence. The late elector, who was not the best economist in the world, and had but little Nepotism about him, contrived to leave his family nine hundred thoufand guilders, of which, however, they have only the enjoyment, as it returns to the States after their death. His ancestor, a Lord of Oftein, left behind him four millions of Rhenish guilders.

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There are, amongst the nobility of this place, many persons of extraordinary merit, who join uncommon knowledge to all the duties of active life. Upon the whole, they are far fuperior to the greater part of the German nobility. Their education, however, is still too stiff. The first minister of the court was refused admittance into their affemblies, for not being fufficiently noble; and they think they degrade themselves by keeping company with bourgeois. They all speak a miserable French jargon, and are ashamed of their mother-tongue; so that of course they know nothing of the literature of their own country, though extremely converfant in every trifle which comes from our presses. Their tables, dresses, and equipages, are all in the high Parisian ton; but if the poor barons did but know what wretched figures they cut at Paris, and how poor an opinion is entertained of them there, notwith Randing the compliments they are loaded with for the fake of the louis-d'ors, they would wish the dresses and equipages, a la Parisienne, at the Devil. Some few of them, indeed, as the Lord of Dahlberg, the Stadtholder of Erfurth, Baron Groschlag, Baron van der Leyen, and a few more, have brought fomething home from Paris, besides the patois of our fish-women,

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and the cut of our clothes; but the number of these improved men is too small upon the whole not to make it adviseable to prevent the present nobility from coming into our country, where, for the most part, they only expose their native land, and leave their healths and fortunes behind them. I am acquainted with fome young men of fashion, who, from being bred at home, are constant subjects of derision to the foreign educated nobility, by whom they are treated as cockneys; but they remain in possession of their plump and red cheeks; and though they may not figure in a circle, or make a good bow, or fland upon one leg, they have good found understandings, and know how to have a proper regard for the pealant and mechanic. The apparent contrast betwixt these persons and the barons is a stronger argument against the modern education, than any other I could make use of.

The clergy of this place are the richest in Germany. A canonry brings in three thousand five hundred Rhenish guilders in a moderate year. The canonry of the provost is, without comparison, the richest in Germany: it brings him in forty thousand guilders a-year. Each of the deanries is worth two thousand six hundred guilders. The income of the chapter all together amounts to three hundred thousand guil-

ders. Though it is forbidden by the canons of the church for any one to have more than a fingle prebend, there is not an ecclefiaftic in this place but what has three or four; fo that there is hardly a man amongst them, who has not at least eight thousand guilders a-year. The last provost, a count of Elts, had prebends enough to procure him an income of seventyfive thousand guilders. Exclusive of the cathedral, there are feveral other choirs, in which the canonries bring in from twelve to fifteen hundred guilders a-year. To give you an idea of the riches of the monasteries of this place, I will only tell you, that at the destruction of the Jesuits, their wine, which was reckoned to fell extremely cheap, produced one hundred and twenty thousand rix dollars. A little while ago, the elector abolished one Carthusian convent, and two nunneries, in the holy cellars of which there was found wine for at least five hundred thousand rix dollars.

Notwithstanding this great wealth, there is not a more regular clergy in all Germany than that of this place. There is no diocese, in which the regulations made by the council of Trent have been more strictly adhered to, than they have here; the archbishops having made a particular point of it, both at the time of the reformation,

reformation, and ever fince. One thing which greatly contributes to keep up discipline is the not fuffering any prieft to remain in the country, who has not fixed and stated duties, and a revenue annexed to them. Most of the irregularities in Bavaria, Austria, and other countries. arise from Abbés, who are obliged to subfift by their daily industry, and any masses which they can pick up. Thefe creatures are entirely unknown here. The theological tenets of this court are also much purer than those of any other ecclesiastical Prince in Germany. I was pleafed to fee the Bible in the hands of fo many common people, especially in the country. I was told that the reading of it was not forbidden in any part of the diocefe, only persons were enjoined not to read it through, without the advice of their confessors. For a long time superstition has been hunted through its utmost recesses; and though it is not quite possible to get entirely clear of pilgrimages, and wonder-working images, you will meet with no priest bold enough to exorcise, or to preach fuch nonfense as we hear in the pulpits of other German churches. It is fingular enough that Bellarmin's book on the Hierarchy was forbid by public proclamation, fo long as eighteen years ago. The late elector did a

great deal towards the cleanfing of the Holy Sheepcote: but he fell under the Herculean labour; which, however, the present elector pursues, though with fomewhat a more moderate zeal. The former was terrible to the monks, but his attention to them rendered him a little too careless of the secular priests, who under his administration rather passed the bounds of a decent liberty, and affumed too gallant an air. What think you, for instance, of a priest appealing in his public lectures to Voltaire on Toleration, and other fuch books? or of fuch authors as Bayle, and Helvetius, being common in the hands of students in logic? and this, which made it fingularly ridiculous, at a time when the jesuits were still disputing with all their eagerness on the infallibility of the Pope, and the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary? The present elector extends his fatherly care to the regulars, as well as the feculars, and has brought them to a regularity, which does himfelf, as well as them, great honour.

It is impossible to give you an idea of the veneration in which the late prelate is deservedly held. From the conviction that without a good education, all projects of improvement and alteration are only palliatives, which do not touch

the main fore; this archbishop gave 30,000 guilders a year out of his own privy purse towards the erection of schools and other foundations for the education of youth. The prefent archbishop, who found the foundation of schools for the common people laid to his hands, continues to build upon it with fome deviation from the old plan; but he directs his chief attention to the improvement of the education of the higher orders, and the extention of arts and fciences. With this view he has given the ground, on which the three monafteries which he has pulled down flood, to the University, which by this means has raised its heretofore rather small income to 100,000 guilders. As this prelate is entirely free from any temptation to Nepotism, he has it in his power to do more for the muses than any other German Prince.

The anecdote related in Mr. Pilati's travels of a Swifs officer, who could find no inns to receive his fervants on account of their religion, does not accord with the spirit which at present, at least, generally obtains here. I was in several inns, the masters of which, when once they knew that I was a protestant, offered me meat of their own accord. It is probable that the officer had not made the grand tour of all the

inns; for things are here much as they are in other places: in one street they read legends, and in another, converse with Locke and Newton. Whoever attempts to judge of Paris by the inhabitants of the Porcheron; or of Berlin, from those who had well nigh raised a rebellion on account of a psalm book; or of Hamburgh, from the carrot women headed by Pastor Gosse; will be sure to be mistaken.

Though the trade of this place has been conftantly on the encrease for these eighteen or twenty years past, yet it is by no means what it ought to be, from the fituation, and other advantages. The persons here, who call themfelves merchants, and who make any confiderable figure, are in fact only brokers, who procure their livelihood at the expence of the country or territory round, or who act for the merchants of Franckfort. You will judge of the wretched state things are in, when I affure you, that 'tis difficult to procure a bill of exchange of thirty thousand guilders. A few toy-shops, five or fix druggists, and four or five manufacturers of tobacco, are all that can possibly be called traders. There is not a banker in the whole town; and yet this country enjoys the staple privilege, and commands, by means of the Mayne, Necker, and Rhine, all the ex-

ports and imports of Alfatia, the Palatinate. Franconia, and a part of Suabia and Heffe, as far as the Netherlands. The port too is constantly filled with ships, but few of them contain any merchandize belonging to the inhabitants of the place. Religious principles are the true cause of this evil. When the Huguenots were driven out of France, a great number of them were defirous of fettling here. They offered the Elector to build a city just above Mentz, (at the conflux of the Rhine and Mayne, between Cassel and Costheim,) to fortify it at their own expence; to keep a constant garrison there, and, besides all this, to pay a large annual fum to the ftate, provided only they might be allowed the freedom of their religion. and a participation of the rights of the citizens of Mentz. The archbishop of that time did not chuse that herefy should build her nest so near him; but the last has often been heard to express a wish that a similar offer were to be made to him; and the present would most joyfully comply with it. But fuch opportunities are but feldom found; and the times in which it was customary to drive out Huguenots are gone by.

The pride and extravagance of the nobility are another hindrance to trade. They and the ecclesiastics are possessed of the largest capitals,

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which are entirely employed in the internal confumption. Whilft the merchant of Franckfort has a place amongst the magistrates of his country; those of this place meet only with the profoundest contempt from the gentry, who will not suffer them to associate with them. Instead of catching as they do all the little airs of the London and Parisian noblesse, they would do much better to learn of them the art of doubling their revenues by commercial industry.

I have already told you that the faces of the inhabitants of this city and the country round it are interesting. The peasants are besides very strongly built, and are distinguishable, by their ruddy fresh complexions, from the inhabitants of Bavaria, and the northern parts of Germany, who generally have very fallow complexions; but I was not pleafed with the fet of the bones any where along the Mayne, or even in part of Hesse. Those of the inhabitants of this country are particularly displeasing. The knees are all either bent in like a taylor's, or fland out straight like a stick. You hardly ever meet with a clever well-limbed person. This is owing to the fenfeless and absurd fashion, which still prevails here, of swaddling cloaths. I could not but be extremely angry with the mothers, who dreffed up their children thus,

like pieces of wood, and fuffered them to lay in this unnatural posture all day long. There cannot be a doubt but this constraint must have its effect on the soul, which in the first years is so closely united to the body. You must not expect to meet here with any of the Germans described by Tacitus: black and brown hair is much more common than white. The inhabitants of the neighbouring country of Darmstadt more nearly resemble the old inhabitants.

An attentive observer easily discovers by the external appearance of the inhabitants, what natives of Germany have had strangers mixt amongst them, and what countries have been entirely occupied by foreign colonies. No doubt but that the black and brown hair of the inhabitants of this place is derived from the Romans, who had a station here.

# LETTER LXIV.

Mentz.

A FTER the Pope, there is no doubt but the archbishop of this place is the most considerable and richest prelate in the Christian world. The see is indebted for its increase of riches

riches to St. Boniface, who may be called, with great justice, the apostle of the Germans. It was this man, an Englishman by birth, who in the time of Charlemagne, baptifed Witikind, and the other brave Saxons, who had so long refisted baptism with their swords, and spread the empire of the vicar of Jesus Christ as far as the northern and eastern seas. He it was who introduced the Roman liturgy into Germany, and made the favage inhabitants abstain from eating horse's flesh. But he raised the papal power to a higher pitch than it had been raifed in any other country in Christendom. According to the testimony of Aventinus, several bishops reproached Boniface with having diminished their dignity, by the new oath of homage he introduced, and with having introduced superstition and irreligion in company with the splendid ceremonies of the Romish church. But whoever considers the state of the Saxons at that time, will fee that the enforcing the papal fupremacy was the only efficacious means that could be made use of for raising a laity, and a clergy if possible still more barbarous than they (as they could literally neither write nor read), from their favage flumbers. Had it been only the connecting together the German ecclefiaftics, by means of the papal Hierarchy, and the bringing them acquainted with

with other European nations; this alone would have been a fignal fervice done them. Be this however as it may, the vicar of Christ repaid the services of his apostles with overslowing measure. All the new-founded bishopricks in the north of Germany were made subject to the see of Mentz, which Bonisace had chosen for his residence.

The provinces, the most considerable in the whole papal dominions, all Swabia, Franconia, Bohemia, and almost all Saxony, with a part of Switzerland, Bavaria, and the upper Rhine, belong to this diocese. Though the reformation, and revenge of the kings of Bohemia, have lessened it one third, it still contains the archbishoprick of Sprengel and eleven bishopricks, most of which are the most considerable in Germany, as Wurzburg, Paderborn Hildesheim Augsburg, &c.

It could not fail but that as the vicar of Jesus Christ extended his jurisdiction to temporal affairs, his ambassadors (for so Bonisace called himself, and so the council of Trent calls all bishops) should likewise make their fortune in the matters of this world, a thing the more likely to happen, as the ecclesiastics of that time were evidently superior to the laity in science, and also the greatest politicians of their day.

Spiritual

Spiritual and temporal affairs were indeed fo interwoven, that the most eminent German bishop would of course be the most powerful elec-The same thing happened in Britain, Poland, and in other countries, in which the constitutions were all aristocratical. The landgraves of Hesse, the Palatines, nay even the emperor himself thought it no difgrace to pay allegiance to the archbishop of Mentz. the building of the papal monarchy was completed by Gregory the VII. the archbishops of Mentz became powerful enough to be at the head of the empire. In the 13th and 14th centuries, they were fo eminent, as to be able to make emperors without any foreign affiftance; and it was to one of them that the house of Hapfburg was indebted for its first elevation.

Since the boundaries of the two powers have been more accurately ascertained, and the temporal has so much got the better of the spiritual, the power and influence of the archbishops of this place have of course been much reduced; still, however, they are possessed of very important prerogatives, which they might exert with much more essicacy than they do, were it not that various circumstances have rendered them too dependant on the emperors. They are still the speakers in the Electoral College,

have the appointment of the diets under the emperors, and may order a re-examination of the proceedings of the imperial courts. These high privileges are, however, too much subject to the controul of the house of Austria; nor are their spiritual powers any longer what they once were. Their fuffragan bishops have taken it into their heads that all bishops are alike as to power, and that the title of archbishop only intitles its possessor to the first place amongst brothers who are equal: it is true indeed that now and then appeals are received from the confiltory of some suffragans to that of our vicar general, but they generally end in a further appeal to Rome; and the metropolitan dignity commonly lofes as much by them as it gets.

The temporals, however, which are still annexed to this chair, make him who sits in it rich amends for the diminution of his spiritual and political splendour. Though he does not absolutely possess the largest, yet he certainly has the richest and most peopled domain of any ecclesiastical potentate in Germany. The country, it is true, does not contain more than 125 German miles square; whereas the archbishoprick of Saltzburg contains 240; but then Saltzburg has only 250,000 noinhabitants; whereas Mentz has 320,000. The natural riches of the territory of Mentz, and

and its advantageous fituation, make a subject of Mentz much richer than one of Saltzburg, the greatest part of which is only inhabited by herdsmen. In the territory of Mentz there are 40 cities; in that of Saltzburg only seven.

The tax on veffels which go down the Rhine of itself produces 60,000 guilders, or 6000l. a year, which is nearly as much as all the mines of Saltzburg put together, excepting only the falt mine at Halle. The tax on wine, here and in the country round, produces the court above 100,000 guilders, or 10,000l. a year, in which fum we do not reckon the customs of the countries which lye at a greater distance. the whole, the income of the present archbishop may be valued at 1,700,000 guilders, or 170,000l. · At least I know for a certainty, that in the last years of the late archbishop, they brought in 1,800,000 guilders; and though the present elector gave up to his subjects two out of 15 or 16 poll taxes, which they were bound to pay; these do not amount to above 100,000 guilders; and he has much improved feveral other fources of revenue.

If the lands of the elector lay altogether, they would produce a fufficiency of corn and all the prime necessaries of life; but as several parts of them lye wide as funder, the people are compelled to purchase a great deal from foreigners. The capital

capital itself, as well as the adjacent Rhinegau depends on the Palatinate for its corn, notwithstanding the great abundance of that and every other species of grain in its own possessions in the Wetterau. The noblest production of the elector's territory on the Rhine is the wine, which is almost the only true Rhenish. Connoisseurs, indeed, allow the wines of Neirstein, Bacharach, and a very sew other places out of this country to be true Rhenish. But they do not give this name to the wines of the Palatinate, of Bardon, and of Alsatia.

There is a great deal of wine made in the countries which lie on the fouth and west of the Rhine, at Laubenheim, Bodenheim, Budesheim, and Bingen; but the true Rhenish, that which inspires so many who are and so many who are not poets, comes only from the Rhinegau, which lies on the northern banks of the Rhine.

A few days ago, I went with a company from this place on a party of pleasure to the Rhine-gau, and was present at one of the prettiest village sessivities I have ever beheld. Our vessel had a much better appearance than the common smacks you meet with in Germany, and was very like a small Dutch boat. As soon as we had passed the winding which the proud Rhine vol. 111.

makes to the westward, about three miles below Mentz, we had a prospect before us, which is feldom beheld in any country except Switzerland. The Rhine grows aftonishingly wide, and forms a kind of fea, near a mile broad, in which you fee feveral well wooded little islands at your right. The Rhinegau forms an amphitheatre, the beauties of which are beyond all description. At Walluf, the very high hills come nearly down to the river fide; from thence they recede again into the country, forming a kind of half circle, the other end of which is fifteen miles off at Rudesheim on the banks of the Rhine. The banks of the river, the hills which form the circles, and the flopes of the great mountain, are thick fown with villages and hamlets. The white appearance of the buildings, and the fine blue flated roofs of the houses playing amidst the various green of the landscape, have an In the space of every admirable effect. mile as you fail down the river, you meet with a village which in any other place would pass for a town. Many of the villages contain from three to four hundred families; and there are thirty-fix of them in a space of fifteen miles long, and fix miles broad, which is the width of this beautiful amphitheatre. The declivities of all the hills and mountains are. planted thick with vineyards and fruit trees, and

the thick wooded tops of the hills cast a gloomy horror over the otherwise cheerful landscape. Every now and then, a row of rugged hills run directly down to the shore, and domineer majestically over the lesser hills under them. On one of these great mountains, just about the middle of the Rhinegau you meet with Johannis-Berg, a village, which produces some of the best Rhenish. Before this village is a pretty little rising, and near the banks of the river, there is a very sine old castle, which gives unspeakable majesty to the whole landscape. Indeed, in every village, you meet with some or other large building, which contributes very much to the decoration of the whole.

This country is indebted for its riches to this femicircular hill, which protects it from the cold winds of the east and north, at the same time that it leaves room enough for the sun to exercise his benign influences. The groves and higher slopes of the hills make excellent pastures, and produce large quantities of dung, which, in a country of this fort, is of inestimable value.

The bank of the Rhine, opposite to the Rhinegau, is exceedingly barren, and heightens the beauty of the prospect on the other side, by the contrast it exhibits; on this side, you hardly meet above three or sour villages, and these are far distant

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from each other. The great interval between them is occupied by heaths and meadows, only here and there a thick bush affords some shade, and a few corn fields among the villages enliven the gloomy landscape. The back ground of this country is the most picturesque part of it. It is formed by a narrow gullet of mountains, which diminish in perspective between Rudesheim and Bingen. Perpendicular mountains and rocks hang over the Rhine in this place, and feem to make it the dominion of eternal night. At a distance, the Rhine feems to come out of this landscape, through a hole under ground; and it appears to run tediously, in order to enjoy its course through a pleafant country the longer. Amidst the darkness which covers this back ground, the celebrated Mouse tower seems to swim upon the river. In a word, there is not any thing in this whole tract, that does not contribute fomething to the beauty and magnificence of the whole; or if I may be permitted the expression, to make the paradife more welcome. As you fail along the Rhine, between Mentz and Bingen, the banks of the river form an oval amphitheatre, which makes one of the richest and most picturesque landscapes to be seen in Europe.

The night was far advanced when we came to Geysenheim: before we landed, we had another prospect

prospect not often seen; we could discover almost the whole coast of the Rhinegau, which appeared one continued row of cities; the lights in the several villages made them look like a great illuminated city, and the reslection on the glassy Rhine was extremely beautiful.

The day after our arrival we went to Rudesheim, where we had been invited by an ecclefiaftic of Mentz. We found our host with a numerous company, fome of whom were protestants. After dinner he carried us in procession to his great faloon, from whence we had a most fuperb view of the here very wide Rhine, and the village of Bingen. The whole of the preparations feemed to announce a splendid festival, the nature and character of which appeared a riddle to me. On a fudden the doors of the faloon were opened, and there came forth in festive order a band of musicians, followed by two pretty girls, well dreffed, who brought in a large bunch of grapes, on a table covered with a fine cloth. The fides of the table were ornamented with flowers. They put the bunch of grapes in the middle of the faloon, on a kind of throne which was raifed on a table; and I now discovered that our hoft was celebrating the feftival of the first ripe bunch of grapes in his vineyard; a custom, it feems, most religiously observed by all the rich inha-23

inhabitants of this country. This feaft was the more acceptable, as it happened that the grapes had this year ripened uncommonly late. After the altar of Bacchus was erected, our host made a short, but excellent speech, suited to the nature of the festivity; and then we danced round the grape. Never in my life, brother, have I danced with fuch pleafure as I did here. The remembrance of these joyous moments still possesses and transports me. Were I to form a commonwealth, feftivals of this fort should be the only ones feen in it. Can there, indeed, be a more facred or more respectable holiday, than that in which we joyfully thank the Creator for the benefits he has bestowed upon us? Nor was our pleasure diminished by this not turning out the only ripe bunch of grapes in the vineyard of our hoft; for though on a nearer investigation we found more, we contended for the honour of the grape round which we had danced and fung, with more heat than if it had been an oriental pearl of the same fize.

Rudesheim is a rich village, which contains about 2500 inhabitants. The wine of this place is looked upon as without comparison the best of the Rhinegau, and consequently of all Germany. I found it much more fiery than that of Hochheim; but for pleasantness of taste, there is no com-

comparison betwixt them. The best Rudesheim. like the best Hochheimer, fells upon the spot for three guilders the bottle. You can have no tolerable wine here for one guilder, nor any very good for two; at least I should prefer the worst Burgundy I ever tasted to any Rudesheimer I met with either here or at Mentz, for these prices. Indeed, the wine of our spiritual host was far better than any we could get at the inn. It flands to reason, that the same vintage furnishes grapes of very different degrees of goodness; but besides this, it is in the Rhinegau as every where elfe. The best wines are generally fent abroad by the poor and middling inhabitants, and the worst kept for internal consumption; for the expence of the carriage being the same in both cases, strangers had much rather pay a double price for the good than have the bad. It is only rich people, fuch as our hoft was, who can afford to keep the produce of their land for their own drinking. Upon this principle, I have eaten much better Swifs cheefes out of Switzerland than in it, and have drank much better Rhenish in the inns of the northern parts of Germany, than in the country where the wine grows. The position of the country also contributes to render the wine dearer than it would otherwife be. As the best wine grows in its more northern parts,

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parts, the easy transport by the Rhine to Holland, and all parts of the world, raises its price above its real value.

The place where the flower of the Rudesheim wine grows is precifely the neck of the land, formed by the winding of the Rhine to the north. after it has run to the westward from Mentz hither. This neck, which is a rock almost perpendicular, enjoys the first rays of the rising, and the last of the setting sun. It is divided into fmall low terraces, which are carried up to the utmost top of the hill like steep stairs; these are guarded by fmall walls, and earthen mounds, which are often washed away by the rain. The first vine was brought hither from France, and they still call the best grape the Orleanois. They plant the vine stocks very low, scarce ever more than four or five feet high. This way of planting the vine is favourable to the production of a great deal of wine, but not to its goodness, as the phlegmatic and harsh parts of it would certainly evaporate more, if the fap was refined through higher and more numerous canals. This is undoubtedly the reason why every kind of Rhenish has fomething in it that is harsh, four, and watery. The harvest of the best vineyards, which are the lower ones, in the above-mentioned neck of land, is often bought before-hand, at the advanced

advanced price of some ducats, by Dutch and other merchants. It must be a very rich stock to yield above sour measures of wine. You may easily imagine, that the cultivation of vineyards must be very expensive in this country, as the dung, which is extremely dear, must be carried up to the top of the mountains on the peasants shoulders.

In our return through Geysenheim, I visited the magnificent palace of a Count of Oftein, the richest gentleman in Mentz, who has laid out feveral millions he inherited from his coufin, a former elector, in life annuities in the Dutch funds. The house, which is in the modern taste, pleased me much: but what delighted me most, was, the half French and half English garden. Behind Geysenheim, the Count has struck out some alleys through a wood, in which there are also fome wilderneffes. The great alley leads through a winding walk to the top of that rock at the foot of which the best Rudesheim wine grows. At the top of this rock the Count has built a terrace, furrounded by a rail, commanding one of the finest prospects I have ever seen. You look down upon the vine hills cut into terraces, and fee the Rhine, which, rolling through the threatening hills which block it up, here begins to be encompassed in deep night. This view down to the

the river is most terrific. The partly covered and partly naked rocks, which encompass the river, make you think it is forcing its way through a fubterraneous cavern. The rock, on which you stand, stretches itself to the opposite shore, where another abrupt mountain stands like an immense pillar. The meeting together of these two great mountains occasions a fall in the Rhine, the dead noise of which has a wonderful effect in the landscape. On the Rudesheimer side, and near the shore you look directly down upon from the terrace, there has been a paffage cut through the hard rocks, big enough for the largest ships to fail through; this is called the Bingenloch. The rock, which occasions the fall of the Rhine, juts out wonderfully above the water in the midst of the stream, and forms an island partly naked and partly covered with briars, on which the celebrated Mouse tower stands. If you look up the Rhine, you have a view of the best part of the fmiling Rhinegau, and the whole opposite shore. Varied and beautiful as this part of the prospect is, it is still exceeded by what you fee on looking straight before you from the terrace: you have here a view into a narrow gulph, through which the river Nahe, which fills its bottom, communicates with the Rhine. On the fore ground, where the Nahe joins with the Rhine,

which I have never yet feen.

The city of Bingen, which, together with the toll on the Rhine, worth about 30,000 guilders, belongs to the chapter of Mentz, is extremely beautiful, and contains about 4,500 inhabitants. A great part of the corn, which is carried into the Rhinegau from the neighbouring Palatinate. comes through this place, which, on the other hand, fupplies the Palatinate with drugs, and various foreign commodities. This traffic alone would make the place very lively; but besides this, it has very fruitful vineyards. The hill, at the foot of which it lies, and one fide of which is made by the gullet, through which the Nahe runs into the Rhine, forms another steep rock behind this gullet parallel to the Rhine, and the golden Rudesheimer mountain; it therefore enjoys the fame fun as this does, which makes the Budesheimer wine that grows on it little inferior to the Rudesheimer.

After I had enjoyed this uncommonly beautiful prospect during a few days, I spent a few more in the villages of the Rhinegau: here too I received ocular demonstration that the cultivators of vineyards are not the happiest of men. The inhabitants of these regions are some of them extremely rich, and some extremely poor; the happy middle state is not for countries, the chief product of which is wine; for

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for besides, that the cultivation of the vineyard is infinitely more troublesome and expensive than agriculture, it is subjected to revolutions, which in an instant reduce the holder of land to the condition of a day-labourer. It is a great miffortune for this country, that though reftrained by law, the nobility are, through connivance of the elector, allowed to purchase as much land as they please. The peasant generally begins by running in debt for his vineyard; fo that if it does not turn out well, he is reduced to day-labour, and the rich man extends his possessions, to the great detriment of the country. There are feveral peafants here, who having incomes of thaty, fifty, or a hundred thousand guilders a year, have laid afide the peafant, and affumed the wine merchant; but splendid as their situation is, it does not compensate, in the eyes of the humane man, for the fight of fo many poor people with which the villages fwarm. In order to render a country of this kind prosperous, the state should appropriate a fund to the purpose of maintaining the peafant in bad years, and giving him the affiftance which his necessities, and his want of ready money, may from time to time make convenient.

The inhabitants of the Rhinegau are a handsome and uncommonly strong race of men. You see

at the very first aspect that their wine gives them merry hearts and found bodies. They have a great deal of natural wit, and a vivacity and jocoseness. which diftinguishes them very much from their neighbours. You need only compare them with fome of these, to be convinced that the drinker of wine excels the drinker of beer and water, both in body and mind, and that the inhabitant of the South is much flouter than he who lives in the North; for though the wine drinker may not have quite as much flesh as he who drinks only beer, he has better blood, and can bear much more work. Tacitus had already observed this. in his treatife De moribus Germanorum. " large and corpulent bodies of the Germans " (fays he) have a great appearance, but are not " made to last." At that time almost all the Germans drank only water; but the mere drinking of wine has effected a revolution in feveral parts of Germany, which makes the present inhabitants of these countries very different from those defcribed by Tacitus. Black and brown hair is much commoner here than the white which made the Germans fo famous in old Rome.

You will easily imagine that the monks fare particularly well in so rich a country. We made a visit to the prelate of Erbach. I cannot find adequate words to discover the poverty of this cloifter.

cloister. These lordly monks, for so in every respect they are, have an excellent hunt, rooms magnificently furnished, billiard tables, half a dozen beautiful singing women, and a stupendous wine cellar, the well ranged batteries of which made me shudder. A monk, who saw my astonishment at the number of the casks, assured me, that, without the benign insluence which slowed from them, it would be totally impossible for the cloister to subsist in so damp a situation.

I was not furprized at the hospitality of these monks, as I had met with many scenes of the kind before, nor do I envy these worldly fathers the good lot they have met with on this earth; but I am not quite so well satisfied with the pains which some of them take to keep the people in ignorance and fuperstition. I was particularly displeased with the pilgrimage to a wood near Geyfenheim, where the capuchins work miracles in abundance. The very name of the place affords room for scandal and blasphemy. It is called the Need of God. According to the legend, a small wooden image of the Redeemer was, by the carelessness or ignorance of a farmer, stuck in the hollow of a tree, where it remained for a long time, crying out, Need of God! Need of God! till at last some peasants in the neighbourhood

hood came and removed the cause of the piteous cry. Since this time it has performed number-less miracles, which it is possible help the capuchins out of their necessities.

# LETTER LXV.

Mentz.

Made by the archbishop of this place of his civil list, it still remains by much too immoderate and expensive. He has his ministers, his counsellors of state, and eighty or ninety privy counsellors of various denominations. The expence of this establishment is very disproportionate to the revenue of the state. This is owing to the large number of poor nobility, who can only accept of employments of this kind. Ignorance of the true principles of government are the causes of this evil. The consequences are, that a great number of persons, who might be usefully employed, live in idleness.

Even the military establishment of the country appears to me more calculated for the purpose of feeding a hungry nobility, than for real use. At the accession of the present elector, though the whole army only consisted of 2200 men, there

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were fix generals. The regular establishment paid for and supported by the country is 8000 men; but though there are only 2000 kept up, the money expended for their support, particularly that given to numberless useless officers, might be made use of more for the benefit of the country. The army of the archbishop consists of a German guard of 50 men and 25 horses, a Swiss guard, a squadron of hussars of 130 men, (the most useful troops, as they purge the land of robbers and murderers), a corps of artillery of 104 men, three regiments of infantry of 600 men each, and some companies belonging to the armies of Franconia and the Upper Palatinate.

Of the fortifications of Mentz, we may fay much the same as of the army. Were they, indeed, improved and kept up as they ought to be, they would vie with Luxemburg, and be the most powerful of all the barriers against France. It is true, that the nature of the ground does not allow of a regular plan; but for fingle parts, I have feen no place of the fame capabilities, where greater advantages have been taken of the ground for the erection of the feveral works. The beauty, as well as fize of them, is indeed an object of great wonder; but though the circle of the Upper Rhine, and even the empire in general, has laid out great fums on the VOL. III.

the building these fortifications, parts of them are not finished, and parts of them are ready to fall to pieces. Their extent, indeed, would require a great army to man. But this, as well as the maintaining and keeping them up, is evidently beyond the power of this court, or indeed of the whole circle of the Upper Rhine united. They are, therefore, also to be looked upon as one of the things, which serve more for magnificence than real use.

Whilst the greater courts of Germany are endeavouring to fimplify their feveral fystems as much as possible, and to introduce into their feveral administrations, a strong and efficacious fpirit of economy; the diffipation, pomp, and love of outfide shew of the leffer ones, is beyond all bounds, and almost surpasses all belief. These courts very much refemble the expensive puppetshew theatre of Prince Esterazi, which I described to you in a former letter; the orchestra is fine, the scenes beautiful, and the poets and machinery delectable; but the actors are only puppets, deficient in what constitutes true great-These petty princes want to make up for it, by shining in little things, an affectation which would only deserve ridicule, if it were not for the oppression of the subject. As things are circumstanced, it is much too serious a matter for a friend

a friend of human nature to make merry with. This reproach, however, does not so much affect the present archbishop, who, as far as circumstances allow him, is perhaps the only prelate, who endeavours to render his court and state expences more useful than oftentatious, as it does the neighbouring Palatinate through which I took a fortnight's ramble.

When I was at Munich, and faw there the useless heap of court attendants, eunuchs, dancers, fingers, gardens, and generals, I placed a great part of them to the account of the last elector, and imagined the present had been unwilling to make any alterations, not to render himfelf odious, which was the more to be avoided, as the acquisition of Bavaria had made his circumflances very good; but how furprized was I, at my arrival at Manheim, to find the same taste for magnificence, pleafure, and idle expence. Would you believe, brother, that the court of Manheim, the revenue of which is not above 3,200,000 Rhenish guilders, lays out 200,000 of them annually on its opera and music? Would you believe, that the keeping up the Schwessingen gardens, scarce inferior to those of Versailles, is an annual expence of 40,000? and that the castles of Manheim and Schwessingen cost 60,000 guil-

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ders a year? that the hunt costs 80,000, and the stables 100,000 guilders? that this court has eleven regiments, with a general to each, which all together do not make above 5500 men? notwithstanding the boasts of the servants of the court, who, at the time of the dispute between their master, the counts of Leinengen, and the city of Achin, spoke of 40,000 men to be sent against the emperor, who threatened them with an execution, and 15,000 more ready to march against the city of Achin. I have already told you, when speaking of Munich, that to make the pupper theatre complete, the two or three ships on the Rhine have a lord high admiral to them.

It is true, indeed, that the good elector is in a great measure innocent of this excessive waste. His fervants bring him in false estimates of his greatness, and flatter his weakness, in order to divide the plunder between themselves.

The Palatinate is called the paradife of Germany. You will judge of its fruitfulness, when I tell you, that, exclusive of a great deal of wheat fold in the territories of Mentz and Treves, and exported into Switzerland, it supplies France every year with 3000 combs of grain. A comb is a measure of 170 pounds. Besides corn, they abound in wine and tobacco. But what gives the

the greatest idea of the prosperity of the country, is a lift of the taxes, which was shewed me by a collector. I do not believe there is a fingle article, the air only which the people breathe excepted, which is not to be found amongst them. Some contributions, fuch as those for the canal of Frankenthorn, dams on the Rhine, &c. which ought naturally to have ceased, when the necessities they were meant to serve (if indeed fuch a useless and superfluous canal can be called a necessity) have been turned into perpetual imposts. The most wonderful thing of all, however, for a politician, are the customs of the Palatinate. Merely with a view of raifing these. the custom-houses have been so increased, that almost every place in the high road has some particular custom payable in it, and all the goods which pass through it are likewise taxable. Prejudical as this establishment is, even to the internal police of the country, as in confequence of it a village is often three times more remote from the dwelling-place of its bailiff, than it ought to be, if nature and the good of the fubjects were more confulted than the benefit of the elector and his fervants; vet is every spark of patriotism so extinguished in this country, that there is no expectation of a change for the better ever being brought about.

In many places on the road, the only mark of the custom-house is the great stick, which enforces payment. The poor people, who export the commodities of the country, are often compelled to go three miles out of the road to pay the tax. In short, the only difference betwixt the practice of the ancient German nobility, who, even so low down as the times of the Emperor Maximilian, used to rob the merchant on the road, or compel passage-money from him; and the present system of taxation in the Palatinate is, that the old nobility did that at the hazard of their heads, which the government of the Palatinate does without danger, and without consciousness of doing wrong.

In order to give you a still better idea of the economy of this country, you must know that there is a monopoly established for the furnishing of all the wood burnt not only in the city of Manheim, but for some miles round. This is not such a monopoly as that established at Berlin, which you know rather helps the peasant to sell his wood, than otherwise. Here, a natural son of the elector, raised by him to the dignity of count, having entered into an agreement with the projector, procured the patent which has enabled him to live magnificently at the expence of the country.

The administration of this country is fuch. that it is really difgusting to me to pick out specimens of it to lay before you. Every thing that you have ever heard of the feparate government of priefts, mistresses, bastards, parvenus, projectors, eunuchs, bankrupts, and the like, exists in the Palatinate at one and the same time. I have spoken with feveral ministers, who made no mystery of having bought their places. Indeed there are more inflances than one, of places having been put up at public auction, in the antichambers of the mistresses. One natural confequence of this is, the flagrant oppressions of the little governors or custom-house officers, who are so many Turkish bashaws, and are feared in their respective districts as the executioners of the vengeance of heaven. I had the honour to dine with one of these bashaws. The company was large and fplendid. He and his numerous family abounded in rings, watches, lace, and every appendage of the most extravagant luxury: we had twenty-four dishes at dinner, and amongst the rest young peacocks. The desert was of a piece with the rest, and every thing in the highest ton. Besides this, the man had a snug stable, magnificent carriage, and hounds, and yet his falary was not more than 2000 guilders, or 200l. a year. How he could keep up fuch

an establishment on such a revenue, would be. no doubt, easily learned from the poor peasants under him, if we could obtain their confidence. With the rich peafants, a bashaw of this kind is naturally upon good terms. I was shewn a man. who, though he had been publicly banished from another part of the empire, for his infamous conduct, had, notwithstanding, by following the turnings and windings of this place, raifed himself to a place, from whence he was enabled to look down upon his enemies with contempt. There is, indeed, no part of Germany, in which adventurers of all forts are fo fure to make their fortunes as they are here. Provided they take care to put part of the booty into the electoral cheft, they are fure to live unmolested. The lotto of Genoa, which, though decorated with a fmooth and splendid name, is in fact no more than a Pharaoh table, at which the state endeavours to cheat its subjects, thrives in no German foil fo well as in this. It harmonized too well with the rest of the system of finance, not to be readily and eagerly adopted. I have feen lottery office propofals published with the elector's privilege, and decorated with his arms, in which it is faid, that a lottery is the shortest, safest, and most becoming way, for a man to make his fortune. Now, every body knows, that

that what advantage there is in a game of this kind is only for the rich, and that he who buys his thirty-twos and fixty-fourths is fure to be undone. What must we think, then, of a court, which uses every trick and paltry artifice to entice its subjects to play a game, by which they are sure to lose, and it must gain at least 100 per cent.? It is true, indeed, that there is such a lottery in every court in Germany; but at none are such mean tricks as these made use of to induce the subjects to play.

These oppressions, however, great as they feem, are still nothing in comparison of what the protestants have to suffer from the court. According to repeated treaties, the established religion of the country should be the reformed; but notwithstanding this, the catholics have found means to grow powerful enough, not only to be at the head of every thing themselves, but to perfecute the protestants in the most infamous manner. For this purpose they have received villains of every kind into their villages, to increase the number of catholics; they have difpoffessed the protestants of all places and posts whatever; they have treated them with every kind of indignity; nay, even in the courts of justice, the most scandalous and infamous partialities have taken place. And yet, so are human affairs

affairs conducted, amidst this outrageous tyranny, and whilst the emigrations to America
have been such, that the English know no other
name for a German than that of Palatine, this
court has met with authors, both in and out of the
country, to extol the wisdom of its councils: nay,
would you think it! although half the subjects of
the country are driven out of it, and the rest so
oppressed, that they hardly know how to live in it,
there is a college for teaching the several
branches of political occonomy subsisting at Lautern, and projectors innumerable are sent to
Frankenthal to establish manufactures!

That, notwithstanding the repeated and multifarious vexations they are exposed to, the farmers of this country are still enabled to hold up their heads, is, no doubt, owing to the frequent emigrations. These keep the price of land low, and enable the half who remain (for above half are driven out) to subsist with a tolerable degree of comfort.

Notwithstanding all the reputation which the manufactures of the Palatinate have gained, there is more shew than substance about them. All those of Frankenthal put together are not equal to single ones which might be named in Austria, in Switzerland, at Berlin, and in several other countries. Excepting only the china manufactory,

nufactory, there is not a fingle one which employs a hundred men, or has a capital of 100,000 guilders. But here they call a place where three men and a few boys are making wafers, a wafer manufactory. In this fense, every taylor and shoemaker's shop may pass for a manufactory. And yet they do not know how to prepare the produce of the country for the internal confumption of it. The tobacco which grows in the Palatinate is carried into Holland to be made, and brought back again for confumption. Another proof of the wifdom of this government, is, the difficulties it places in the way of the exports of its own subjects. The city of Mentz, I have told you, fubfifts entirely by bread made in the Palatinate. Would you think that the court of Manheim, which, like all the other petty courts of Gérmany, is ever ready to quarrel with its neighbours, notwithstanding every treaty and feeming appearance of amity between them, wanted to force the inhabitants of Mentz to come and buy their food in the Palatinate? Before this, the farmers carried it to the city market; but the court of Manheim established weekly markets at Oppenhe im, and other places near the frontiers of Mentz. No doubt, it would have been an advantage to the Palatines, had ftrangers brought the money to their markets,

markets, and the Elector might have fet his own prices on his commodity, provided that Mentz and the Rhinegau had been fo entirely dependent upon him as not to have the possibility of a fupply by any other means; but as foon as the people of Mentz faw themselves compelled to pay more than they did before, they opened an immediate trade with the rich corn countries of the Wetterau, about Ufingen and Friedberg; the confequence of which was, that the Palatines became the dupes of the caprices of their masters. and were compelled to carry their commodity into France and Switzerland, with far more trouble, and far less profit. As, however, none of the projects of this court have any confiftency, the markets of Mentz have, within thefe few years past, been visited again. customs are no small hindrance to exportation.

Manheim is a very regularly built pretty little city, containing about 25,000 inhabitants, of which, fince the court refides at Munich, it has loft about 2000. The Manheimers very much want the elector to refide with them, and leave Bavaria, which is at least fifty times as large as the Palatinate, to be governed by a deputy. They cannot yet understand what it is their prince sees in Munich, to give it the preference. Indeed they are so conscious of the beauty of their own city,

that

that they laugh in the face of any one who tells them there are finer places in the world than Manheim, which, after all, it is doing too much honour to to call it a miniature of Turin or Berlin, and other towns. Indeed, if you except the dull regularity of it, Munich is a much finer city than Manheim, which has nothing worth feeing in it but the castle, and church of the Jefuits. Every thing elfe that is called fine here is fo little and artificial, as to inspire a knowing eye only with difguft. But the Manheimers are altogether the proudest people on earth. They have fo great an idea of the power and riches of their country, as not to scruple to rank their prince with the greatest monarchs in the world. They affure you, with very serious faces, that if they had not been the friends of peace, and averse to the shedding of human blood, it would have been easy for them to have taken possession of Bavaria by force, notwithstanding all the pretensions of the house of Austria. These ridiculous airs, no doubt, have arisen from their being furrounded by leffer states, and their elector being the first of the smaller princes: but their universal motto in every thing is, " Much " buftle for little bufiness." The love of pleafure, too, is fo univerfal here, that a taylor's wife looks upon it as difgraceful to be faithful to her husband.

husband. This distipation, and the love of dress, has a very striking aspect, when contrasted with the deep poverty that obtains throughout. The women of this place are remarkably handsome, agreeable, and pleasing.

The government of the Palatinate is one of the most arbitrary in Germany. There are no ftates, and the privileges of the communities are the jest of the court. But here, more than in any other place in the world, you may be convinced that the most despotic prince in the world is the most limited. The elector depends on his lowest fervants, and is the dupe of all who furround him. Every fubordinate minister is a despot in the same manner, as far as the sphere of his power extends, fo that when a fovereign has not spirit enough to look into the details of government, or at least to rebuke his ministers, he is fure to find there is a conspiracy against him and the country, whilft there is no body left to tell him the truth, or fay a word for the good cause. It is impossible for the elector to lay the first stone of a building, without being cheated in the most scandalous manner.

# LETTER LXVI.

Cologn.

I F God vouchsafes me life, brother, I will once more sail from Mentz hither; for never in my life had I a pleasanter voyage. The sail on the Danube is sine, but that on the Rhine far surpasses it; and indeed I know nothing to compare with this last, but the sail on the lakes of Geneva or Zurich. My company was agreeable, and the vessel a far different kind of a thing from the miserable rasters on the Danube: it had a mast and sails, the deck had rails round it, and there were windows and other furniture in the cabin.

After having loft fight of the magnificent and laughing Rhinegau, we were carried through a narrow valley, entirely occupied by the Rhine, which opens under Bingen. The contrast was extremely striking. The hills, which hang perpendicularly over the Rhine, are sometimes covered with various greens, sometimes with naked stones, and now and then with blue or white slates: their appearance, their slope, the different and various culture which you see every now and then upon them, together with the windings

windings of the Rhine, change the prospect almost every moment. Notwithstanding the difadvantageous fituation of it, the banks of this vale are much more peopled, and much better cultivated, than any part of the Danube whatever. You have a village almost every three miles, and every hill is crowned with a castle. formerly the habitation of some German knight. The most picturesque fancy can point nothing more romantic, than the fituation of these cities and villages. We had a Scotchman with us, who had come over land from the East Indies. The man was like a madman. He found fomething like Scotland in every place we admired; but on my asking him what there was in his own country like the vineyards which we faw, he fwore that, as to these, their uniformity and dull regularity made them an unpleasing fight; and obliged him to refresh his eyes with a fight of the impending hills. I answered him only by bringing him a glass of red Asmannshauser wine, which he found very drinkable.

The finest spots in this romantic country are those about Bacharach and Kaub (which lie directly opposite each other on different sides of the river), and those about St. Goar and Coblenz. The situation of Bacharach is like the place itself, dark and tremendously beautiful. The

hill,

hill, at the front of which the little town lies. hangs directly perpendicularly over it, and is, in part, covered with vineyards, which produce one of the best Rhenish wines. The situation of Kaub is more open and more gay, and from the circumstance of the houses being painted of a light white upon a deep green, contrasts very pleasingly with the wonderful black of Bacharack. In the midst of the Rhine, betwixt the two cities, on a rock which hardly rifes above the furface of the water, stands a high, thick, folid tower, called the Palatine. This, which as well as the two towns, belongs to the Elector, is generally looked upon by the common people, as the original feat of the family. You can conceive nothing more fingular or flriking in a landscape, than the fituation of this tower, when viewed from a certain distance.

The country about St. Goar is quite of a different kind. On the banks of the Rhine, on the right, and on one of the perpendicular hills, which are distinguished by their majestic appearance, there stands an old castle which they still keep up. The left shore, on which the city stands, is still more perpendicular, but it is cultivated with singular industry. The vines are planted as at Rudesheimon a number of small ascendant terraces, which rise to a great height. The space betwixt the

rock and the stream is so narrow, that the inhabitants are fometimes compelled to build in the rock itself. Just above the city there rifes majestically a fort called Rheinfels, which gave its name to a branch of the house of Hesse-Cassel: but fince the death of the poffessor, has fallen, with the country belonging to it, to the head of that house. The town itself is very lively, and far the best betwixt Bingen and Coblentz. The inhabitants appear to be a very active race of men. A little above the city, the short windings of the constrained Rhine form a whirlpool, known by the name of St. Goar's bank. Though no remarkably bad accidents ever happen here, we were witnesses to one, which shews that it has not its name for nothing, as the whirlpool on the Danube has. A large veffel from Cologne happened to be going down the river with us. It had taken on board an old experienced pilot, who, in the dangerous places, flood very deep in the river. The horses pulled very strong: on a sudden, the pilot was fo entirely borne down by the stream, that the veffel lay in a minute on the other bank of the river, though this was a hundred and fifty paces distant from the place it was going down. By great good luck there was a wherry betwixt it and the rock, on which it struck, which prevented it from receiving great damage. It was,

however, obliged to be hoven off.

About a mile above Coblentz, several old castles and little towns, situated at the top and bottom of these woods and hills, form very pleafing views. At length you behold the little town of Lahnstein, at the back of which there is a rough, tall mountain. Near the town, a gullet, through which the river Lahn runs into the Rhine, forms a very pleasing perspective. The valley is still fo narrow as to be wholly occupied by the Rhine. As you approach towards Coblentz, it begins to widen to the left. At a distance you see a magnificent convent of Carthufians; on a great hill, ftraight before you, the city; and to the right, the steep rock crowned by the fort of Ehrenbreitstein. At the foot of the hill is the majestic caftle inhabited by the prince, and several magnificent buildings. The whole has an effect not to be described.

Coblentz is a very pretty, though somewhat dead town, which contains about 12,000 inhabitants. The present master, a Saxon prince, and brother-in-law to the emperor, continues true to the old system. He is exemplarily good, and I believe that it is his goodness, much more than any political views, which makes him so attached to the papal system of church government. In a voyage

he

he lately made to Augsbourg, he carried his veneration for the pope so far, as to throw himself on his knees before him in the public church. There also exists a letter of his to his brother-in-law, in which he reproaches him in very severe terms, for his intended project of reform. These remonstrances were not, however, well received; the emperor looked upon the holy father in a very different light from the good archbishop. The latter, however, is upon the whole an excellent prince, nor does his piety, as that of princes sometimes does, degenerate into indolence and weakness.

This ecclesiastic owes his advancement entirely to the emperor. He was first recommended by him to the chapter of Luttich, who resused the recommendation with great harshness. The chapters of Mentz, Wurtzburgh, and Luttich, are the only ones in Germany, who endeavour to preserve their freedom of election. Upon the resusal of Luttich, the emperor tried Treves, who made less difficulty. As elector, he has at least 500,000, and as bishop of Augsbourg, near 200,000 guilders. Besides this, he is coadjutor of Ellwangen, where, in time, he may expect at least 8000 guilders more. Three such pieces of preserment would almost make me think with Bellarmine: "Only make me pope (said a Ro-

"man patrician to one who wanted to convert him), and I will be a Christian!"

The country betwixt Coblentz and Cologne is very fine and very well peopled. There is a beautiful town near the latter. Newvied is quite new, regularly built, and full of industry. The inhabitants enjoy not only a perfect freedom of religion, but an exemption from taxes, very feldom to be met with in Germany. The place is. more particularly diftinguished as the residence of a colony of Moravians. Just over against it, on the opposite bank of the Rhine, lies the old town of Andernach, which, though not fo handfome as Newvied, is extremely full of life. Bonn, the residence of the elector of Cologne, is the largest and handsomest town betwixt Coblentz and Cologne. It contains 12,000 inhabitants. Till you come within two or three miles of Cologne, the banks of the Rhine have still hills, only the chains of hills are fofter than betwixt Coblentz and Mentz, and they are now and then broken by small plains; but here the hills terminate to the right with feven large pyramids, called the feven hills. These form a fine amphitheatre, and on one of them there is an old castle. From hence to the German ocean, there are no more remarkable hills. Here likewife end the dominions of the German Bacchus.

The

The whole strip of land from here to Mentz is one of the richest and best peopled in all Germany. In this course of eighteen German miles. they reckon twenty cities, which lie on the banks of the Rhine, and were most of them known to the Romans. There still remain figns enough to prove, that these were some of the first countries broke up. Neither moraffes nor heaths interrupt the agriculture, which is carried on with great industry, from the banks of the river to a great distance up the country. Whilst many castles and cities, built in other parts of Germany, in the times of Charlemagne and his fucceffors. particularly under Henry the First, have been destroyed, those which were built in this country not only remain, but feveral fresh ones have been added to them.

It is certainly true, that the natural fruitfulness of the country, and the facility of exportation by the Rhine, contributes in a great degree to this; but it is also owing to the nature of the government. In the three ecclesiastical electorates, they know nothing of the heavy taxes under which the subjects of the temporal princes so heavily groan. They have raised the customs very little. No species of slavery is known here. There is no need of heavy taxes to portion out princesses. They have no overgrown armies,

nor do they fell the fons of their farmers to foreign powers, nor have they taken any part in the civil or foreign disturbances of Germany. From all this it follows, that though they do not encourage arts and manufactures fo much as they might do. agriculture has been carried to a height amongst them, which it has not reached in any other part of Germany. So true it is, that nature will do of herfelf all that laws and acts of parliament can produce, as foon as you remove the impediments that stand in the way.

The forest of ships in the port, and the numerous church steeples, give Cologne a very magnificent appearance at a diffance; but it all vanishes as foon as you fet foot within the gates. The streets and the inhabitants are alike dark and ugly. I had scarce made my entry, when I met with an event, which gave me no very high idea of the police of the place. On my landing from the veffel, they fent a foldier with me to the inn, to fearch my baggage; but we were hardly alone, when he told me how old he was, what a trouble it would be for him to go to the inn, and in short offered to let me go where I pleafed, provided I would give him a few flivers. This I eafily complied with; but I had hardly got rid of him, when a troop of beggars affailed me, and followed me quite to the inn. Here I met with another specimen

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cimen of the manners. The hostess was bargaining with a dirty monk to say a mass for her. He asked sourteen stivers, and she would give him only twelve. At length, when they had struck their bargain, and the priest was gone his way, there came another, who had overheard all that had passed, and offered the hostess, if she would be off, to say a mass for ten stivers. By the next post you shall hear more from this city, which has an extraordinary appearance throughout.

## LETTER LXVII.

Cologne.

the ugliest town in all Germany; there is not a single building worth seeing within its walls, which are nine miles in circumference; most of the houses are falling to the ground; a great part of them stand quite empty; and as to the population, I cannot give you a better idea of it, than by affuring you, upon my honour, that my landlord, an officer of the city, with whom I have taken up my abode for two months, pays only sifty guilders a year for a very handsome, large house, with a court, stables, and a large garden, in one of the best streets in the city. Round the

the walls, which enclose the whole domain of the state, there are some hundred farm houses, which produce all the greens, together with as much butter, cheese, and milk, as is used in the city. In many streets there is dung laying before the houses on each side. Many are so empty, that you may walk in them for an hour, without seeing a single human creature. The great square, or place, however, would, from its size and the beautiful rows of lime trees in it, be one of the most magnificent in the world, if it was not darkened by the half-sallen buildings about it.

A third part of the inhabitants are privileged beggars, who form here a regular corporation: this is no fatire, as you may think it, but the fober truth; they fit upon rows of stools placed in every church, and take precedence according to their feniority: when the eldeft dies, his next neighbour takes his place. The old people, who belong to the fraternity, confider a place upon these stools, as a provision for a son, or marriage-portion for a daughter. Many of them have ftools belonging to them in feveral churches, which they visit alternately, on the days of the most brilliant festivals, and divide amongst their heirs when they die. On the few days of the year on which there are no festivals, they disperse about the city, and molest the pasfengers,

fengers, with an infolence and rudeness not to be conceived.

Another third of the inhabitants are ecclefiaftics. There are thirty-nine nunneries in this place, above twenty convents for men, and more than twelve hospitals; besides these, the place is crouded with a motley race of men. which are called Abbés; but these are not as they are with us, the powdered fmirking ecclefiaftical beaux, who make parties with the ladies, and attend at their levees; but rough, dirty clowns, befmeared all over with tobacco, who play for pence with the peafants in public alehouses; or after having said mass in the morning, run of errands, clean shoes, or are porters, for the rest of the day. I have never seen the church in so contemptible a state as it is here. There are feveral ecclefiaftics who do not themfelves know what they are. I am acquainted with a canon, who makes 2000 guilders a year of his stall; but has affured me himself, that he has neither faid mass, nor seen his church, for a twelvemonth. I met another of them in a coffeehouse, kept by a young woman, whom he loved, but who was likewise courted by a merchant's clerk. The rivals having engaged in a game at billiards, from words proceeded to blows, until the prebend was laid fairly under the table.

When

When we had with fome difficulty made peace, the clerk went his way, and now there followed another extraordinary scene. The canon had a pretty young man with him, whom he had lodged and boarded for fome time. He took it fo ill that this toad-eater had not taken his part, that after reproaching him with the favours he had conferred on him, he renounced his friendship before us all. The part of our abbés is played here by these regular canons, the Antonites, and the priefts of the order of Malta. You see them about the ladies in all the great houses. As to the nuns, there are four of them big with child at prefent, and fix are immured, for not having understood the art of not being with child. In the first days of my abode here, the fon of a gentleman, to whom I was recommended, took me with him to a nunnery to visit his sister. We found her with another friend in the fick room, where they are allowed to receive vifits. In the first quarter of an hour of the vifit, I discovered that my friend was not come to fee his fifter, and that her friend's disorder was not very dangerous. I found the fifter agreeable enough, not to be tired of her, whilst the brother was entertained by the friend. The next week the fifter was ill, and the friend attended her to the hospital; she gratefully

fully returned the favour the week after, and I foon found that, let me ftay here as long as I pleased, we should have visits to make every week, till the whole circle of diseases had been gone through by the nuns.

The want of proper government is the cause of the illimited freedom, which is enjoyed by the ecclesiastics of this place. They live in the greatest anarchy; for though they are properly subject to the control of the archbishop of Cologne, the magistracy of the place is jealous of the archbishop's power, and will suffer none of his orders relating to discipline to be carried into execution. Thus between the contention of the two powers, poor discipline goes to the ground.

The last third of the inhabitants consists of some Patrician families, and of the merchants and mechanics, on whom the other two parts live. Upon the whole, Cologne is at least a century behind the rest of Germany, Bavaria itself not excepted. Bigotry, ill-manners, clownishness, slothfulness, are visible every where, and the speech, dress, furniture of the houses, every thing, in short, is to different from what is seen in the rest of Germany, that you conceive yourself in the middle of a colony of strangers. I do not mean to say there are no exceptions, for I have been in some houses, the masters of which are distinguished for their taste and elegant

elegant manner of living; but the exceptions are indeed very few.

It is owing to the government of the country, that this city is fo far behind the other states of Germany. Together with the hatred of innovation common to all republics, and usual impatience and weakness of the magistrate, the absurd corporation fystem prevails here with more force than in any other of the free imperial cities. I will only give you one instance, by which you will fee how impossible it is for this town ever to go on improving as the rest of Germany has done. A few years fince there fettled here a baker from the Palatinate, who, from the circumstance of the other bakers baking fuch bread as only an inhabitant of Cologne could eat, foon drove a thriving trade. Jealoufy of his good fortune foon brought his brethren of the company to his house, and they pulled down his oven. The affair was carried into a court of justice. On the day it was to be determined, not only the company of bakers, but the other companies of barbers, taylors, shoemakers, &c. affembled round the court-house, and swore they would put an end to the magistrates and magistracy together, if, by their licentious decree, they allowed any man to bake better bread than the other gentlemen of the corps. The magistracy knew its men, who

on a former occasion had hustled some of them in the church-yard; and admonished by the precedent, they made this spirited decree:—"That "whereas the audacious baker had taken upon him to bake bread, such as the rest of the corporation did not bake, he should build up his oven again at his own expence, and, for the future, be cautious only to bake such bread as the town had been wont to feed upon."

The obstinacy with which the feveral corporations of the place defend their privileges, the rudeness of the common people, which some love to decorate with the name of liberty, and the immoderate and unreftrained licentiousness which obtains univerfally, render Cologne very deserving of the name of Little London, by which fome of its inhabitants love to diftinguish Like the great London, it is remarkable for the pride of the common people, and the infolence with which they treat strangers. Having behaved rather impertinently to their neighbours, the Elector of Cologne, and the Elector Palatine, an attempt was made to reform them in the most effectual way, by cutting off their provisions. The magistracy immediately dispatched messengers to the emperor, to acquaint him that they were upon the point of being flarved to death; and in the mean time, the burghers rubbed up their

their old fwords, and affembling in crowds in the alehouses, and other public places of the city, denounced death and vengeance on the elector. The emperor, out of pity, had the interdict taken off; and ever since, the populace have exclaimed,—" We have brought the elector tor to reason: he was apprized of our intended march, and has acted very wisely, in not allowing matters to come to extremities!" Precisely in the style of the canaille of London.

A governing burgomafter of Cologne (there are fix of them, two of which govern every year) holds nearly the fame flate as the lord-mayor of London. He wears a Roman toga, half black, half purple, a large Spanish hat, Spanish breeches, waiftcoat, &c. He has also his lictors, who carry the fasces before him, when he appears in his public character. In the last war, one of our regiments defired to march through the city; but it was opposed, on the pretence that the King of Prussia was their liege lord, in his capacity of Duke of Cleves, and Count of the Mark; and they told the colonel, who defired to have the gate opened to him, that they were determined to observe a strict neutrality. in vain for him to remonstrate, that he was conducting auxiliary troops to the fervice of the emperor, their fovereign lord. The gates were kept

kept shut, and nothing less than the pleasure of having their houses burned about their ears would content the mob of the place. However, when the cannon was planted, and ready to fire, the council thought better of it, and, to the great mortification of the populace, determined to permit the paffage. The commandant, as foon as he had got in, immediately made the best of his way to the hall, to remonstrate with the mayor, whom he found, in all the infignia of majesty, on his throne, encompassed with his lictors. As thefe, however, did not prevent a few remarks from being made, the magistrate immediately drew up, and ordering the lictors to raise the fasces, asked the colonel, "Whether he had a " proper conception of the dignity of a Roman " burgomafter? Or whether he knew, that he " represented the majesty of the Roman Cæsars, " and had only opened the door to him out of " good will?" The officer, who had drawn up bis troops, with their bayonets fixed and firelocks primed, in the grand square, and was in full posfession of the city, could not abstain from laughing; but as he already had the door in his hand, the only answer he made was, "You are " not quite right in your head!"

The want of all police, a want which in this town constitutes the effence of liberty, brings hither from

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from the Upper Rhine, Westphalia, the Imperial Netherlands, France, and Holland, vast numbers of people who choose to live incognito. There are very good focieties to be met with. made up of the better fort of these adventurers, numerous Prussian and Imperial officers, the canons belonging to the foundations of the place. fome patricians, and protestant merchants. The brisk navigation, particularly of the Dutch, for which this is the staple, which they dare not pass by, the low price of all the necessaries of life, the neighbourhood of Bonn, the total absence of the insupportable court airs and insolence of the nobleffe, which you meet with almost in every other city, the wholesomeness of the air, and the chearfulness of the inhabitants of the neighbouring electorate and dutchy of Berg, renders this a very agreeable abode to those who wish to mix fomewhat of the country with the city life, notwithstanding the disagreeable manners of the majority. This ferves the philosophical obferver for matter of perpetual remarks, which he cannot make fo eafily any where elfe. Indeed, all the characters of middling life are here more strongly marked than in any other place I have ever been in.

These morose and heavy people are equllay distinguished from the rest of Europe, for their religious as well as for their political superstitions.

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The republican pride gives a colouring to every thing done here, which cannot but highly interest a friend of humanity, were it only to make him laugh; which, you know, was the use which Democritus of Abdera made of his fellow-citizens, to the no small advantage of his lungs.

The superstition of this little London surpaffes every thing of the kind you can imagine. They are not contented here with fingle faints. but must have whole armies of them. A few days fince, I paid a visit to the church of St. Urfula, where she lays, with her 11000 virgins. The walls and floor of the church are filled with coffins and bones. Though, as this holy princess lived in the time of the heptarchy, it be fornewhat difficult to conceive how she could get together 11000 virgins in her father's dominions, a man who should attempt here to subtract a fingle one from the number, would run a very great chance of being knocked on the head. Wonderful as this story is in itself, other wonders are brought in confirmation of it. Amongst the rest, there is a monument which has a small coffin enclosed in it, and on which the following words are written :- " A natural child was buri-" ed in this church with the virgins; but innocent " as he was, they would not fuffer him to mix his

" bones:

bones with theirs, but drove him out again, " and there was a necessity of burying him above " ground." If you are not thoroughly versed in the history of these ladies, you will be, perhaps, glad to hear that authors do not quite agree in their accounts of them. The Italian legendaries, a jealous race of curs, where foreign miracles are concerned, think there is a zero too much in the infcription; others, that the princess had a maid of honour called Undecimilla, who by fome blundering monks was changed into eleven thousand. Here also lies interred in a church which bears his name, Saint Gereon, (not Geryon) with 1200 or 12000 (for they do not stand for a cypher here in reckoning up faints) of his foldiers. One of the three Hermans who are the subject of a wretched popular novel, also works wonders upon wonders here. Almost every one of the 200 churches of this place has fome male or female faint belonging to it, on which the monks and beggars live. What delighted me most in this way, were two wooden horses painted white, which are looking out of a window in an old building of the new fquare. The history of this monument was given me in the following terms: " A wealthy young woman was for-" merly buried from this house, with very rich " ornaments, which the grave-digger having " observed.

" observed, he came in the night to rob the " corpfe; hardly had the coffin been opened, " when the woman flood up, and feizing the lan-" tern, which the aftonished grave-digger drop-" ped in his fright, walked directly home with "it; fhe knocked at the door; the maid came " to the window, and asked who was there. "Your miftress, answered the other. The girl "immediately ran with the message to her " mafter, who not being perhaps pleafed to hear " that his wife was come back again, cried out, It is as impossible for it to be my wife, as for the two horses to come out of the stables, run up into the garrets, and look out of the window.' No fooner faid than done; the "two nags immediately trotted up stairs, and have remained at the window to this day." The poor man had no remedy but to take back his wife, who lived feven years with him after that, and wove a great quantity of linen, which, together with a fet of paintings, exhibiting the whole flory, is still to be feen in the neighbouring church. Unfortunately for the ftory, it is told with precifely the fame circumstances in two other parts of Germany, only the Colognese, who are in every thing distinguished from the rest of the sons of men, have added the visible and perpetual monument of the two horfes :

TRAVELS THROUGH GERMANY. 277 horses; but this city is very rich in fables of this

It is not here as in the other dark parts of Germany, where fmall tales only ferve for the amusement of the idle; no, no, the Colognese are in downright ferious earnest; they consider their country as the special habitation of faints, and the earth itself as holy, and are equally ready to become martyrs for the truth of the propositions, or to make martyrs of any who doubt them

Their bilious humour leads them to defend the whole with a degree of heat that almost turns their heads: whereas, in the other parts of Germany, there is fomething romantic in all the ftories of the faints, which corresponds with the jovial turn of the people; fo every thing of the fort told here, is melancholy, cruel, or nonfenfical, like the relators.

The priests of the place, especially the monks, carry no better stories than these with them into their pulpits; nay, fome of my friends have affured me, that the whole morality of the confeffors refts upon them: thus, if a young man comes to confess an affair of gallantry, he is immediately told, "that the devil having caught " a young man and young woman in bed toge-" ther, wrung off the neck of the one, and plung-" ed the other into a lake nine times hotter than " burning

" burning pitch." Of all the fermons I heard here, the certain medium by which to judge of the morals of a people, there was only one, by a Carmelite, that was not flat nonfense.

A necessary consequence of all this is, that the manners are more corrupted here than in any other place under the fun. The churches themselves are made places of rendezvous, where every kind of licentiousness is in part agreed upon, and in part carried into effect.

The evening fervices of the monks are like the evening walks in the fuburbs of Vienna, and every alehouse round the place teems with adultery and fornication. If you happen to go into them on a holiday, you will commonly find the visitors in such a state of drunkenness. as exactly reminds you of the old Germans and Scythians.

#### LETTER LXVIII.

Cologne.

Cologne ERETOFORE counted 30,000 men bearing arms, and in the twelfth century it stood a siege against the whole empire united. Her commerce was fo flourishing, that she was at the head of the Hans cities of the

the third order. Indeed, when we consider the many circumstances favourable to it, such as the fituation on one of the most navigable rivers in the world, the shores of which are coveted with inhabitants; the staple, the republican form of government, the admirable roads which connect it with all Germany, and various other circumflances; the greatest wonder of all the wonders of this wonderful city, is how it can possibly have contrived to fall fo low: at prefent it does not contain more than 25,000 fouls. Their manufactures are low. Save a fingle one of tobacco, a few infignificant laces, and the pins which are made by the wives and daughters of the poor people, all spirit of industry is effectually suppressed by monkery, and the diffolution of manners inseparable from it. Those who pass for merchants are only brokers and commissioners, for those of Francfort, Nurenburg, Augsburgh, Strasburgh, Switzerland, and other countries. Excepting a few small bankers, there are hardly above 10 or 12 houses, that have any thing like a folid commerce; the object of these are drugs, from the sale of which a great deal of money is annually brought into Germany; wine, wrought and unwrought iron, from the mines of Nassau, which are the most famous for the production of this metal, after those of Styria and Carinthia; wood from the Upper

Upper Rhine, the Maine, and the Necker. and a few other less important articles. The greater part too of these very few merchants is made up of French and Italians, who far furpass the natives in understanding, industry, and frugality, and make up their fortunes on this never-failing capital. The most folid commerce of all is in the hands of fome dozens of protestants, who can neither obtain the privileges of citizens, nor yet the liberty to serve God in their own way; they go to church at Muhlheim, a pretty town in the Palatinate, at fix miles distance. Besides the manufactures they are engaged in here, they have concerns in feveral others in the Prussian territory, and the Palatinate.

When a stranger objects to the people of Cologne, their intolerance towards the most useful part of the inhabitants of their city; when he compares the stupidity, barbarity, debauchery, and poverty of the citizens of the place, with the knowledge, industry, frugality, and riches of the foreigners, they are not at all affected with the justice of these remarks, but turn them to their own advantage in the following manner: "These heretics," say they, "are lost souls; their hearts are wrapt up in worldly possessions, which God vouchsafes them in order to render their damnation the greater. God has "eyidently

evidently reprobated the rich in his holy writ, and their riches are the fagots which in another world will be piled up to burn them!" With opinions like these, which the monks hold forth from every pulpit, it is not to be wondered at, if the third part of the inhabitants of the city are beggars.

The numerous ships which are always to be found in the ports of this city exhibit the most difgraceful instance of the manners of the people. There is hardly a river in Europe which is navigated fo high from its fource as the Rhine is in this place; the quay, which is above a mile long, is almost always filled with ships; but the goods on board, which according to the laws of the staple, should be loaded only on ships belonging to Cologne or Mentz, almost all belong to foreign merchants; of these the Dutch ships are most confiderable; they are diftinguished by the kind of magnificence and cleanliness peculiar to this people: they are at least one third longer than our common merchant ships of two masts, and carry from 150 to 180 tons; they are drawn by horses, and can also occasionally use their sails at the fame time; nor, in proportion to their freight, do they want above half the number of horses which are used in the navigation of the Danube from the Ulm to Vienna. The proprietors of these (for a river) immense vessels commonly

monly live on board, even when they are at Amsterdam or Rotterdam; to which last city. unfavourable as their vessels are for a sea navigation, on account of their length, small height and breadth, they often fail through the Texel when the wind is favourable. As long as they lie in this port, they treat their friends with all kinds of foreign wines, and a variety of refreshments, after the Dutch manner. I have had many a jolly party in fuch veffels, where we have danced down the night. The ships of this place, and those from Mentz, which take goods in here for the Upper Rhine, are much smaller than the Dutch ones. Many of these, however, are large enough to load 120 tons, or as much as a common two-mast ship. All these ships are built of oak, and according to the principles of ships which go to sea, only with this difference, that their length is greater in proportion to their depth or breadth.

Nothing displays the constitution of the German empire in a better light, than the navigation of the Rhine. Every prince, so far as his domain on the banks reaches, considers the ships that go by as the vessels of foreigners, and loads them, without distinction, with almost intolerable taxes. They do not in the least consider, whether the commodities which pass by are the produce of Germany or other coun-

tries,

tries, and whether the empire will gain or lose by them. On the contrary, some of the articles exported from Germany, such as wine, wood, &c. have greater taxes laid upon them, in proportion to their intrinsic value, than any foreign ware. Flourishing as the banks of the Rhine now are, they would be still much richer if they belonged only to one master, and were governed according to the principles of a sound policy; as things now are, the exports of the country are visibly cramped by the numerous custom-house duties, so as to make it almost incredible how navigation can be so great as it is.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as Germany was approaching near to the anarchy in which it in fact still continues, the princes of the Rhine, particularly the ecclefiastical ones, either by force or flattery, compelled the Emperor to give them fo many customs as to make every city a custom-house: originally all the customs belonged to the Emperors, but their want of men, money, and other fervices, compelled them to part with most of them to purchase friends. Whilst the anarchy lasted, every one took by force, what was not given him by free will; and at the peace, they found means to preferve themselves in the possession of what they had stole. The Emperor Albert had the idea

idea of endeavouring to recover them, but he was not sufficiently powerful for the undertaking.

In the small district between Mentz and Coblentz, which, with the windings of the river. hardly makes twenty-feven miles, you don't pay less than nine tolls. Between Holland and Coblentz there are at least fixteen. Every one of these seldom produces less than twenty-five thousand, and commonly thirty-thousand guilders a year. In this estimate I do not comprehend a number of articles which pay toll in specie, and make a part of the pay of the tollgatherers. An old English writer has qualified these tolls of the German princes, which evidently contribute to the ruin of their country, with the name of an incomprehensible fury. It is, indeed, a very different method of proceeding, from that of a government, which, instead of putting clogs on the exports of the commodities of the country, gives premiums for them. It likewise often happens, that the temporary revenge of the neighbouring princes, occasioned these unpatriotic tributes to be carried much higher than the fettled estimate. When the Elector Palatine made it difficult for the city of Mentz to export the corn of his country, the archbishop endeavoured to revenge himself, by raising the toll of the grape

of the Palatinate, the tobacco, and the other productions. On the other hand the Elector Palatine had reprifals made by his toll on the Lower Rhine, and revenged himself on the Mentz wines, which were carried to Holland. Every species of chicanery, which hostile powers can use towards each other, was made use of on this occasion. The town of Treves possesses the staple privilege on the Moselle; there have been inflances of this staple being moved from one place to another, in the fame principality, in order to hurt the staples of Mentz and Cologne. The elector of Treves took it into his head to move his ftaple from Treves to Coblentz, where it was far more profitable to himself, but infinitely prejudicial to the navigation on the Rhine, and the exports from Holland. Fortunately the strong opposition he met with from the court of Vienna did not allow him to carry his project into execution. The eternal disputes between these princes has occasioned feveral congreffes, in which our court has been forced to take a part, on account of Alfatia, which fuffers infinitely by them. Every thing, however, that was agreed upon, only ferved for a new bone of contention; and they must be fuffered to cuff each other, till some stronger power arife, and cuff them all to pieces. A great revolution awaits these countries, when the archduke Maximilian is come to the government of Cologne, and Munster; a revolution by which, happen what may, it is hardly possible that the country should lose.

The present government of the archbishoprick of Cologne, and the bishoprick of Munster. is without a doubt, the most active, and most enlightened of all the ecclefiaftical governments of Germany. The ministry of the court of Bonn is excellently composed; and the bishoprick of Munster, besides the effect which their influence has on it, is happy in the patriotism of the feveral members who compose the affemblies of its states. The ecclesiastics of both the countries are a most striking contrast to those of the city of Cologne, for their great learning, and good manners. The cabinet of Bonn is fingularly happy in the establishment of seminaries of education, the improvement of agriculture, and induftry, and the extirpation of every species of monkery. The electorate of Cologne is worth about a million of Rhenish guilders a year, or about a hundred thousand pounds, and that of Munster about a million, two hundred thousand guilders. With these two great principalities, the archduke will also have the bishoprick of Paderborne, worth about fix hundred thousand guilders, or fix thousand pounds a year. Some persons are of opinion that even this will not be thought fufficient, but that the Emperor has fo managed his matters,

with

with the chapter of Liege, that forgetful of its ancient jealousies, it will likewise choose the archduke for its archbishop, on the death of the prefent incumbent. This bishoprick brings in at least one million, two hundred thousand guilders, the greatest part of which, however, like that of Munster, goes into the chest of the states, the lock and keys of which, the prince's fingers are not fuffered to touch. The prince with his income as master of the Teutonic order, which amounts to at least four hundred thousand guilders, will have a revenue of four millions, four hundred thousand guilders, which will make him the most powerful ecclesiastical prince in Ger-The fense of this made the Prussian court, whose dominions in Westphalia will be in great jeopardy by this arrangement, make strong remonstrances at Bonn, and Munster, against the nomination of a coadjutor, but they were without effect. No doubt, but this elevation of a prince of the house of Austria will be of fatal confequence to the balance of power of the empire. A branch of fuch a house, propped as it will be with all the power of the Low Countries, and fituated amidst a number of fmall principalities, partly occupied by the creatures of this house, would not only be very formidable to the greatest part of the empire, but also, under peculiar circumstances, to Holland It would be able, especially if supported

by some subsidies from Vienna, to keep on foot an army of twenty thousand men, to which if the imperial troops in the Netherlands were to be joined, there would be an army of near fixty thousand, ready to spread terror and desolation far and near. In former times, a bishop of Munster alone had it in his power to make Holland tremble.

If we will also the standard of the standard o

## LETTER LXIX.

Amsterdam.

I Had intended to go from Cologne to Holland by the Rhine, and promifed myself great pleasure from the journey, but the King of Prussia forbad the sport; he suffers nobody to go by water through the territory of Cleves, in order not to hurt his posts by land, which are farmed. You are obliged to take the posts on the frontiers, or at least to pay certain taxes, if you have a carriage of your own. "This," said I to some sailors of Rotterdam who told me of it, "this," said I, "is against the law of nature, "against the law of nations, against the law of hospitality, and against all the laws in the "world." "We have known that," answered they, "long ago."

As being prevented from going by water, I determined to fee as much of the country as was possible by land, and for this purpose partly on horseback, partly on foot, and partly in the carriages of the country, I wandered over the several parts of Westphalia belonging to the king of Prussia and the elector Palatine, entirely vol. III.

indifferent where the vifit shall carry me, and following only the direction of my nose.

The reward however was well worth the trouble I took for it, for the degree of cultivation and riches far exceeded all ideas I had formed of them, and quite aftonished me. All the cities and villages abound in tradespeople. Muhlheim, Elberfeld, Solingen, Sorft, Ham, Duifburg, Meurs, Wefel, Cleve, and fome other cities, have capital manufactures in them. They make a great number of linens and woollens, fupply almost all the country of the Upper Rhine, Suabia, and Franconia, with white threads: they have besides manufactures of handkerchiefs, filks, and cottons; they prepare fteel and iron at Solingen, better than in any other part of Europe, England alone excepted. Their commerce extends all over the Netherlands, part of Franconia, and the whole empire.

This wonderful industry, united to the natural fertility of the country, renders this one of the richest, and most remarkable parts of Germany; a gentle administration, and a security against despotism, derived from the states of the country, contribute not a little to the happiness which obtains. The inhabitants are chearful, hospitable, and well mannered; they may be quoted as a

new instance to be added to the numberless ones I have already given, of the little influence which religion has over the civil condition of men, when not attended with other local cir-Though the protestants in this cumstances. circle are far from being fo enlightened, or fo tolerant, as those of their persuasions in other countries, and though they are much more addicted to fenfual enjoyments than their brethren of other places, they are, notwithstanding, the most industrious people, and the best subjects that can be found; nor does the bigotry of the catholics hurt the manufacture and agriculture of the country, their education only directing it to fuch objects, as have no connection with manners, or civil fociety. Every thing therefore in my opinion depends upon the habits amidst the which men grow up. When once industry is habitual to a people, the most abject superstitions will have no influence on their temporal felicity; the priefts themselves will render their fermons conformable to the manners of the country, nor will the monkish theorists themfelves be able to overturn them. There are as many legends in this country, as in Cologne, nor are the people less fond of processions and pilgrimages, and yet they are infinitely more industrious, more frugal, and more wealthy than

than at Cologne. It is neither therefore the fault of the religion, or superstition, but of the government alone, that the people of Cologne are so debauched, and that the priests of the place openly recommend debauchery, as a loose education has made their religion prejudicial to them. The corporation system, which more activity and cleverness would have made a blessing to the country, is become the curse of it. In a word, police, government, and executive justice are subject under a weak administration to the same abuses as government, nor is at the religion itself, but the abuses of it, which make it ever prejudicial to the state.

The upper part of Westphalia, which lies at a greater distance from the Rhine, is not so well cultivated, and by nature much less productive, than the country I am now speaking of: it is occupied by many heaths, and morasses, which for the most part produce only turf, and in the better places dyers-wood. Some parts of the country, such as part of the dutchy of Minden, and marquisate of Tecklenburg, are remarkably well peopled, but this is compensated by the striking depopulation of some others; many parts, for instance, of the bishopricks of Munster, Osnaburg, and Paderborn, the marquisate of Beithlein, and some domains in the electorate of Hanover.

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With all this, this part of Westphalia is the proper country of hemp and flax, which are fome of the richest products of this country. The greatest part of the hemp and flax, which is manufactured in the parts of Westphalia about the Rhine, Holland, the Austrian Netherlands, and the French Netherlands, comes from this part of the country. Besides this, there is a great part exported raw to England, Spain, Portugal, and America. Though these productions are found in great plenty in the other parts of Germany, particularly in the electorate of Hanover. the circle of Lower Saxony, Heffe, Waldeck, and Fulde, I question much, whether all the flax and hemp of the other parts of Germany, taken together, are equivalent to the quantity found here. According to the estimate of an intelligent friend of mine who lives at Munster, the annual exports of raw and fpun flax and hemp, out of the fingle circle of Westphalia, amount to five millions of Rhenish guilders. do not take into this account, the numerous manufactories of these materials, which are confumed in the parts of the circle of Westphalia, about the Rhine. All the flax and hemp, raw and worked, exported out of all Westphalia, taken together, must at least be estimated at feven million of guilders, or 700,000 pounds.-

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The

The finest flax and hemp grows in the territory of Bielefed and Keroost. It almost resembles filk.

When you go out of Westphalia, and enter the territory of Holland, it appears to you as going out of a pig-fty into a fine garden. The country round Nimeguen especially is a striking contrast to what you see in Westphalia. I shall fay nothing to you of the magnificence, fymmetry, and cleanliness of the Dutch cities, nor of the numerous and expensive canals, the sides of which are for the most part planted with fine rows of trees, nor of the numerous gardens. There are descriptions of all these things in abundance. This magnificence, however, and regularity is tiresome in the end. I at least cannot stand the tedious uniformity of this country and its inhabitants. All the cities, villages, roads, and canals, are fo fimilar, that they appear copies of the felf same individual picture. country indeed is only made to take a walk through; and, without business, no man of taste will flay in it long. With respect to real value alfo, it is only a frogged out beggar parading about in a rich gown which he has stolen. Palatinate, which is not more than one fifth of Holland, is of infinitely more natural value.

The inhabitants, likewise, taken in general, are only well dreffed beggars; their riches do not belong to them, for they enjoy them not; they are only the guardians of their money. When you are invited to dinner by a man of middling rank, the magnificence of the dishes, the cleanliness of the room you dine in, and the expenfiveness of the furniture, make you expect a princely meal; but when the dishes are fet on, you find no more, nor lefs, than you would have at the table of a good Westphalia peasant. All the merchants pass the whole week in their counting-houses, where they gorge themselves with tea. They are so intent upon their business, and so entirely taken up with their speculations, that you may push their guts out almost without difturbing them. On Saturdays they go to their expensive gardens, where they spend the whole of the Sunday, and enjoy themselves just as they do in their counting-houses. I had occasion to visit one of them in his garden; he was taken up all the afternoon, in gathering fallad for his fupper. Another shut himself up, and spent the whole Sunday in killing flies in his fummerhouse. These, and smoking tobacco, are their common amusements in their hours of recreation. When they are in company, they fit as if they were pinned to their chairs, gape at each other, and every quarter of an hour converse on the

news of the day, which, of all the news published in Europe, is the most piteous. This is the quintessence of political nonsense; and their ecclesiasticks, who, to the shame of the reformation, are greater monks than the German capuchins, will give you the quintessence of the spiritual. Were it not for the strangers, especially the officers, and some of the nobility who have been polished by their voyages, there would not be a tolerable society to be met with throughout all Holland.

Their government, and police, is as extraordinary as the country, and every thing bears a tint of the inconversible melancholy and niggardly humour of the natives. It is received as a common opinion here, that no dish of fish, which you know is the most ordinary produce of the country, is brought to table, which has not been paid for once to the feller, and fix times to the state. The spirit of the inhabitants, which revolts at every idea of facrifice to the public good, compels the magistrate to lay these heavy imposts upon the first necessaries of life. It is these heavy charges, as well as the aftonishing tranquillity of the inhabitants, which are the causes of the miserable living of this country. I will only give you one specimen of their police, which extraordinary enough. A stranger, who

who knows nothing of laws, and the customs of the country, happens to send his servant to a wine-merchant to buy a bottle of wine; the merchant gives it the man, without telling him a word of his danger; the servant carries the bottle home open in his hand; he is met by a constable, and asked where he bought it, which the other tells without difficulty; but no sooner has he done so, then he is arrested, and, in due process of time, tried, and banished the country. Thus the poor servant alone suffers, and neither the master who sent him, nor the merchant who sold the wine in retail, which, according to law, ought only to have been done by those who keep taverns, are at all punished.

### LETTER LXX.

Amsterdam.

HIS, dear brother, according to the generally received opinion, frogs-stolen country is originally nothing more than fand, brought down by the Rhine from Switzerland, and the upper parts of Germany; and fea mud, which the north and west winds have caused the waves to bring up. There is in no part of it any folid earth, and as early as on the borders of the dutchy of Cleves, you find the most evident marks of this country's having been formed like the Ægyptian Delta, with this difference only, that the Nile yields a most fruitful foil; whereas, the Rhine carries nothing with it, but a hard fand. Parts of Brabant and Flanders have been formed in like manner by the Scheld, the Maese, and fome other rivers: there are notorious proofs of this. At a great distance from the coast, in Flanders, you find under the good earth, dry fand, and under this again, large layers of good earth, as if the rivers and fea had by turns deposited their sand and their mud. The whole coast

coast of Germany is of the same kind, as far as the Elbe; throughout all this district there is no solid ground; and as to rocks and hills, nobody thinks of them.

The sea forms boundaries to herself, which she never passes, but in cases of extreme necessity. Her playful waves have made the downs which reach from Calais to the Texel, and which protect the land which is in some case lower than the horizontal surface of the sea, from her devastations; but, when a north or north-west wind turns her from her natural good humour, into a sit of anger, she overthrows in an instant, what, with the help of the neighbouring rivers, she has been building for many centuries.

Even in the time of the Romans, the Y, which reaches from Amsterdam to the Texel, was still solid land, watered to the east by the Yssel, and to the west, as some imagine, by the Rhine. In some tempest, the sea demolished the downs, which extend from the northern coast of Friezeland, to the country of the Texel; the rivers, in the mean time, having extended their mouths in the sand, which was their works, there came at length an extraordinary slood, which raised the rivers, and united with them to destroy the whole country. Since that time, but particularly since the independance of the coun-

try, it has been the constant care, to reunite these small strips of land, which the flood left behind it, with the folid land. These strips are commonly only fand banks, fome of which have been fenced with dykes, and joined to North Holland; others are embanking every day, as every strip of land, let it be ever so barren, is of infinite value to the inhabitants. A fimilar process has taken place betwixt Groningen and East Friezeland, by the mouth of the Ems. The great bay of Dollar was originally formed by a powerful flood, fince which, a great part of the fea fwamp has been dammed in, and wonderfully cultivated. But as fast as they recover land on one fide, the sea revenges itself by spreading on another. The sea of Haerlem grows wider every day, and threatens to break the dykes betwixt Leyden and Haerlem, and make a perfect island of North Holland. In the last century the sea demolished a great part of the island in which Dordrecht is fituated, and fixty thousand men perished by this accident.

Dreadful as the sea is to the main land of the Republic, she is still a more formidable enemy to the islands which constitute the province of Zeeland: but what she executes on the continent by violent storms, she undertakes here by -craft and cunning: most of these islands are lower

than

than the furface of the sea; the inhabitants have, in consequence, attempted to secure themselves by very expensive dykes; these dykes consist of large trees, which are joined together with large needles to prevent the kakerlak.

The fea is perpetually undermining them, and washing the earth away from them by degrees; in many places they are already quite naked. This compels the inhabitants to build other walls behind their dams, which expecting the same fate, must in time leave the whole at the mercy of their enemy.

Nor are the inhabitants of the middle of the country in a better fituation: The territories about Nimeguen and Arnheim, the most beautiful and most fruitful in all Holland, will in time be fubdued by the Rhine. As it deposits immenfe fand banks in the middle of the country, in time it will be reftrained by them in its courfe, and compelled to open itself new ways. In many districts about Betuve, the fand is already to high, that at every swell the river is driven with a terrible hurricane to the opposite shore; this will happen till it has finally broke itself a new bed, and covered with its waters all that is now ploughed land, or the fite of villages and hamlets. Nunc Rhenus est ubi Troja fuit .- The many canals,

canals, which have been made to receive part of the waters of these rivers, are by no means sufficient to break their force. Their sand, particularly that of the Maese, accumulates at their mouths and stops them up; nor does the division of the waters serve for any other purpose, than to compel them the more, in process of time, to overslow the middle of the country, for want of having sufficient strength to maintain their old mouths.

These canals, and the abundant diggings of turf, entirely divest this country, which is the sport of the Rhine, the Maese, and the sea, of all fecurity. In the direct line betwixt Rotterdam and Amsterdam, there is dyke upon dyke; all these hollows have been occasioned by the digging of the turf; most of them are fo deep, that it is impossible to draw the waters of them into the canals, which are on a level with the furface of the fea. What a ruin will take place, if once the waters of the neighbouring rivers break in upon them, or endeavour to open a way through them! In short, no Dutchman can promife his children a durable habitation, fave only the inhabitants of Guelderland, which is nothing but fand, and those of Over-Yffel and Drenthe, countries which are almost nothing but moraffes and heaths, and throughout, the habitations of colds, catarrhs, and fevers.

Turn

Turn we our eyes from the physical situation of the country to its present political one, which is much worse.

Many superficial writers of the history of Holland have observed, that the republic was too young, and its constitution not sufficiently firm and folid; but this opinion has been controverted by a whole herd of Dutch writers, who have brought the brilliant parts of their history to shew. how little their constitution had stood in the way of their united exertions. The event, however, has contradicted all the nonfense hitherto written on the fubject. The brilliant actions performed by the ancestors of these men, were, in part, the effect of a patriotic enthusiasm, which neither is, nor, by the nature of things, can be, of long duration in a republic entirely commercial, and partly arose from the benevolent and personal influence of a demi-god of the house of Nassau. Their operations were never the refult of a folid constitution, which keeps bodies in a regular degree of heat, and makes them act with uniformity and alacrity. Even in the course of the war, in which the Republic figured amongst the first powers of Europe, it frequently experienced, that the different members of the

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the body were not well compacted and connected together.

The enthusiasm of the inhabitants, the pressure of circumstances, and the astonishing activity of fome princes of Holland, could do wonders, and raise the Republic above itself, so long as the other powers of Europe were not entirely formed, and did not know the whole of their strength; but fince these times, the latter have taken uncommonly large strides, and the Republic has gone back, as it must continue to do, for want of a fufficient degree of internal strength. those wars, in which the force of the Republic shone so bright at sea, there was no naval power of Europe which poffeffed above thirty ships of the line; the greatest force the English could oppose, consisted of twenty, and in the most bloody engagements betwixt the two nations, there were hardly ever more than twelve, or fixteen on a fide: the fleets were, for the most part, made up of frigates, and other leffer craft.

These times are now long gone by; Great Britain has a hundred and four ships of the line, besides frigates. If by exorbitant taxes, the Republic could even build a formidable navy, it would be impossible for it ever to man them. According to the lists of the admiralty, there are to be sixty ships of the line, with a proportionable

tionable number of frigates ready for the fervice of the ensuing year; but at this very moment, that they have but sixteen ships, there is a cry for sailors in every corner. The pay, it is true, has been doubled, and projects have been given in to make use of part of the land troops in the sea-service; go, however, where you will, you' meet with nothing but sailors, who express their abhorrence and detestation of the service.

Far from its being able to shine as a first-rate power, it will be necessary for the Republic to exert every nerve, if it means to hold rank even amongst the second order of naval powers in Europe. In order to do this, the inhabitants must become patriotic enough to contribute largely, even in time of peace, to the necessities of the state, which is as poor as they are rich. The India Company, whose administration is still more miserable than that of the English; and which, incredible as it is, is loaded with debt by the robbery of its fervants, and the interestedness of the proprietors, must be entirely suppressed, and its possessions governed by the Republic; the land troops, a miserable jest upon armies, and of which the Swiss and Dutch alone deferve the name of foldiers, must be entirely disbanded, and their immense pay employed in the fervice of the navy. When all this is done, possibly VOL. III. X

possibly the State may be in a fituation to keep up a constant navy of fifty or fixty ships of the line; but in the present state of things, even if the fifty or fixty thips that are promifed could be got ready, the best thing that could be done with them, would be to fell them directly to the neighbouring power of Europe, which would give most; the Republic itself has neither strength enough to keep them manned and in a state of service for a course of years, nor good will and power enough to preferve them at the end of the war; they must of course rot again in a short time. As the Republic has made conquests abroad, the defence of which, in the present times, far surpasses her power; she has the good will and jealoufy of her neighbours to thank. for still continuing in possession of them.

But small as the resources of the Republic appear to be, when considered with regard to the present political system of Europe, the constitution of the country does not allow her to make all the use of them they might be put to. Not only abroad, but in Holland itself, the Republic passes for a consederacy of seven, or, taking in the country of Drenthe, of eight sovereigns. Nothing can be falser than this estimate; there are a greater number of independent states in Holland than in Switzerland, or the whole Ger-

man empire; and whatever appearances may fpeak the contrary, the bond of union is much stronger in these last countries than it is in Holland. Every city, every country of this Republic is a free state; the members of every province should indeed be only the representatives of the states of a country, as they formerly were; but they are in fact become true states, according to their titles. The States General are no representatives of seven or eight fovereigns, but only the refults of the deliberations of many flates, which are united by a special bond, and call themselves a province. The cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Leyden, and many others, have, during this war, not only very frequently forgot the provincial judicature, which, with the other states of the province, they have erected as a kind of congress, but have behaved as if they were in every respect independent; I say, as a kind of Congress, for that they are no superior tribunal, but only the members of a congress, who, in particular cases, possess the highest authority, is evident from feveral affairs having been removed from this judicature, to the particular ones of each city. All the tribunals of Holland must be looked upon as congresses of different sovereigns, who can disunite at pleafure. Even the council of war, pre-eminent and important

important as it is, is of the fame kind. The districts of Ostergo, Westergo, the Seven Woods in Friefland, &c. although only properly bailiwicks. are at this infant occupied in separating entirely from the provincial affembly, and erecting their own tribunals en dernier resort, among themselves. In feveral reprefentations which they have made to the Stadtholder in their own names, and without the participation or advice of the other states of their country, they directly call themselves fovereigns. The affemblies of the States General themselves are nothing less than a body reprefenting one independent fovereign. The members of it, though constantly together, are no more than ambaffadors for the moment, who must inform their respective provinces of every event that falls out, and direct their deliberations by the wisdom of the multitude in these.

Immense as the anarchy appears in the contexture of the whole, it is still greater in each single state and district. There the collision of opposite interests, the variety of spirits and humours, and the clownish stupidity of the common burghers, allow the demagogues to make their advantage of every thing that falls out. Each particular government is the theatre of ever-contending factions, the heads of which have no thought whatever, but of their own private interest.

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are apt to see things in the false lights in which their own passions or the gloss of faction reprefent them; it has always happened, that the time pitched upon to curb the power of the Stadtholder, has been that in which alone the extension of the dictatorial power might have been of service to the country; the consequence is, that the Republic bears all the burthen, without enjoying any of the conveniences of the office. It is absolutely ridiculous to hear and to read all the reproaches which are made to the Stadtholderat, entirely arising from foolish suspicions, or the false reports of interested demagogues. Were the people cool enough to fee things in the right point of view, there are feveral physical and moral confiderations fully fufficient to make them eafy, exclusive of the personal qualities of the present Stadtholder. At one time he is reproached with his fecret understanding with the Court of St. James's; at another, they suppose that he wants the absolute dominion over his country. It is certain, that the prince wishes to be upon good terms with England, but he is not therefore a traitor to the country from which he derives the greatest part of his support: his wishes in this respect were fuch as the best interests of the Republic dictated, and his object was to put it in a fituation to preserve the neutrality; but the people were

TRAVELS THROUGH GERMANY. 311 were deaf to all his representations, and he has been compelled to expiate the fins of others; the consequences of which, he would, had it been possible, have prevented. Long before the breach, he represented to the States General the urgent necessity there was for them to increase their forces by fea and land; but his remonstrances were vain, and the only effect produced by them has been, that now, ill-disposed persons revenge themselves on him, and the Duke of Brunswick, who has done the ungrateful Republic special fervice, for the good advice they gave. They are the martyrs of truth—and by what means can; the prince possess himself of the government of the Republic? With twenty-eight thousand of the wretchedest foldiers in the world, who, if you except the nine thousand Swiss and Germans, are not equal to the taking of Amsterdam. And supposing him to get all Holland, what would he be the better for it when he had done? France, England, and even the Dutch East India Company, would take care to prevent him from poffesting himself of any part of the foreign dominions. The rich, too, would leave a land in which there was no longer any liberty, according to their notions of it, and betake themselves to England or America; the arts and ir dustry would of course soon follow, and the prince would X 4

would not have enough left to defend himself.
against the sea, the rivers, and the frogs.

The jealoufy which the natives entertain for the numerous German princes and nobles, which were employed by the prince, and his right hand, the Duke of Brunswick, in the army, contributed much, no doubt, to leffen his authority; but without these strangers the land service could not have been put upon a respectable footing. As to the natives, the factions which eternally subfift among them stand in the way of all subordination, regularity, and military discipline; every stripling belonging to a demagogue of Amsterdam or Rotterdam confiders himself as a particle of the fovereignty: it would furnish endless food for fatire, to recount how many irregularities in the fervice arise from this single cause.—Even on the Swifs, who are so averse to any kind of nobility, this treatment of the Prince and the Duke has had no good effect.

The evil, however, which really undermines the Stadtholdership, lies much deeper. It is the same which brought Charles to the block and Cromwell to the protectorate; which raised the whigs, and was so long the object of Swist's fatire. It is generally imagined, that it was the American revolution which raised the republican spirit, which so suddenly possessed the Dutch;

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but it had long been in them, and only flept till awakened by the present war. The reformed, whose opinions are so favourable to democracy, and the Memnonites, who publicly preach the equality of mankind, but treat all who fland in their way without pity, are the real instruments which oppress the Stadtholder. These enthusiasts are without comparison the richest people in the republic; they are also the most numerous part of the inhabitants of some of the greatest cities. for instance, of Haerlem. The sums, which these advocates for the natural equality of mankind have lent out for many years past at fix, eight, and even ten per cent. to the poor nobility, have made the latter entirely dependant upon them. The consequence of this is, that though their religious opinions will not allow them to take any part in the government of the state, their fecret influence is inexpressibly great. These hypocrites, who consider it as a sin to wear metal buckles or buttons, but will use every species of meanness to fill their purses with the ducats of honest men, have usurped such a power, as to threaten the very near downfall of the Stadtholder, the only bond of union which fubfifts in the republic. The heads of the Dutch mob are filled with every kind of nonfense, which these pretended faints can suggest.-As they knew

knew that the Stadtholder was too forgiving, too good-hearted, and if the truth be rold, had too little experience to make head against a mob himself; the first thing they did was to procure the banishment of the acute, determined, and stubborn Duke of Brunswick. His ruin was the prelude to the ruin of the Stadtholder, whom nothing can possibly save but a speedy peace, which will reduce these republicans to their former inactivity.

It is enough, this war has shewn the republic to Europe in all her nakedness; it has been made evident, that she has no folid constitution, nor, as the rest of the European powers now stand, strength enough to make her respectable as a friend, or formidable as an enemy. For fourfcore years she was entirely forgot. During this period, the avarice of individuals stifled every idea, both of her former power and the public good. Her neighbours, in the mean time, acquired great strength; at length the English gave her a kick on the breech, and waked her out of her fleep: when she had opened her eyes and seen how far she was gone backwards, she strove to make amends for her negligence; but all her efforts were little better than grimaces, and only exposed her to the derision of the world. eno estalia lashina na esteks

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# LETTER LXXI.

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CINCE this town has been made a free port, the trade of it has very much increased: it is, however, much to be feared, that after the war it will relapse into its former infignificancy. All the English, who are here, cry out on the dangerous entrance into the haven, by ftormy northnorth-west and westerly winds, the narrow bason, and the want of many other conveniencies.

The fituation of Antwerp would have been much more advantageous for the advancement of trade, but the Dutch have locked up the mouth of the Scheld. Their forts not only govern the river, as they should do according to treaty, but they have literally stopped up the mouth of it. Sunken ships filled with stones, immense dykes of stone, pallisadoes, and other things of the kind, barely leave room enough for small boats to go by. Twenty millions of guilders would not be enough, in twenty years, to remove the impediments which the Dutch have laid in the way of the trade of Antwerp.

There

There is no want of gold in Brabant and Flanders. Antwerp, Bruffels, Ghent, and Bruges, are still filled with the treasures which were amaffed, when these towns were what England and Holland now are. The burgeffes of these cities have a share in all the great undertakings, and loans of the neighbouring nations. Their commerce of exchange is immense, probably infurance is not fo fafe among the Dutch themfelves as it is here. Antwerp is one of the most famous places of infurance in the world.—In the last Bavarian war, the court of Vienna, having determined to raise a loan in these countries, were aftonished at the quickness with which the money was raised; but the inhabitants of Ghent and Antwerp let the regency know, that if there was occasion for three or four times as much, it would be as eafily procured. Ever fince that time the court feems to know the value of its possessions in the Netherlands.

Notwithstanding this, the industry in these countries is upon the whole very different from what it was. The heirs of those treasures, which were accumulated between the twelsth and fixteenth centuries, endeavour to make money of them in the easiest way; nor is their way of living calculated to improve them to the utmost. They are the most extraordinary compound of slothfulness

flothfulness and industry, stupidity and acuteness. activity and cowardliness, goodness of heart and treachery, that can well be conceived. An Englishman once said of them, "They have the im-" pudence of the French, without their pleafant-" ry; the pride and bigotry of the Spaniards. " without their fense of honour; the ferocity " and harshness of the Dutch, without their " punctuality; the debauchery of the Germans. " without their integrity; and as to their bodies, "they are blocks, from which the carver at-" tempted to make Englishmen, but could not "cut them out." The picture is in general just, as these inhabitants of the Netherlands are an affemblage of all these nations.—But what they are most conspicuous for, is want of honour. You must have agreements in writing in all the common transactions of life. You are in danger of being first overcharged, and then carried into a court of justice by every workman of whom you bespeak a piece of work, if you do not put down your agreement in black and white.

With respect to their bodies, they, and the Saxons, are the most like the Germans described by Tacitus: their bodies are of a very unwieldy make, and ad impetum valida. What, too, Tacitus says of the old Germans, that they can bear neither hunger, nor thirst, nor heat, nor cold,

nor yet any long work, is true of them. In the Imperial armies they are accounted good partifans, but are never put to regular service without extreme necessity. They have an extreme abhorrence of discipline, and look upon it as a severe punishment to be subject to the rules of the service. If their robberies and maraudings are not overlooked, they do not last a campaign. In short, it is only in action that they shew themselves at all soldiers.

Spain, Italy, and Portugal excepted, there is no country so overloaded with monks as the Austrian Netherlands: there are in many towns forty or fifty convents; several prelatures are worth 200,000 guilders, 2000 l. per ann. If you divide the income of the country into four parts, one will be found to belong to the priesthood, one to the nobility, one to the sovereign, and one to the people. The bigotry and intolerance of the inhabitants is beyond all description, and is a marvellous contrast to the corruption of their manners.

The nobility of this country are extremely rich, and live in a very high style. Brussels is one of the most beautiful and most brilliant cities in Europe. It has lost a great deal by the death of Prince Charles, who spent 700,000 guilders a year in the city, and whose loss has not been made

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up for, by the economical Duke of Saxe-Teschen. I have not feen any where a finer place than the large market-place of this city; all the houses in it are built in a style and with a degree of magnificence that you hardly fee any where out of Italy. You meet here with excellent company, who are not difficult of access to a stranger. There are feveral clubs, after the manner of the English, where you find the greatest freedom and good humour. One of the best of these confifts of the Duke of Arenberg, Mr. Hopp, the Dutch minister, (a man in general esteem on account of his knowledge and good qualities) our minister, some of the nobility of the place, and fome English. No man can become a member but by ballot. The room in which they meet commands a very fine view of the public walks, on one fide of which it stands. The club meets twice a week: a member has the privilege of introducing strangers, almost without any difficulty. Linguet was a member of this club. The subscription is four louis-d'ors each member, for five months; for this they have a sumptuous table; the wine is paid for separate. There are several other lesser affociations of this kind in Bruffels; nor have I met with a place in which this appendage of refined life and manners was better understood than it is here.

here. Since the English have come so much to Ostend, and the Court of Vienna has slattered them with the hopes of making a peace for them, every thing in Brussels is become English; they ride, play, hunt, and eat, a' l' Angloise, and all the societies are become clubs. The town at least has lost nothing by this.

The Duke of Saxe-Teschen, the governor, lives very quietly with his wise; he shews himself not to be a lover of large companies or expence, notwithstanding that he has an income of 4,000,000 imperial guilders, or 4000l. per annum. The Archdutchess seldom shews herself with the externals of imperial magnificence; her principles on this point are much the same as those of her husband; her favourite amusement is hunting; there are sew persons that are better hands at shooting slying than she is; she has had a wonderful education, as well as her other sisters. Her husband too does honour to the Imperial Court by his principles of government.

There is no province in the hereditary dominiers of the House of Austria, the states of which have preserved a degree of respect equal to that which those of the Netherlands still posses; I imagine that it is the affluence in which the burgesses live that has made them preserve sentiments of liberty, which you look for in vain in Hun-

Singular are the events which take place in this earth of ours. The revolution which made Holland a free commonwealth, broke out in the Austrian Netherlands. Whilst every thing here was already in motion, the Dutch thought not in the least of making themselves free. Nor would they ever have been so by their own exertions, as even in the earliest times of the republic they announced the slothfulness which still renders them remarkable. It was only such a singular genius as the Prince of vol. III.

Orange, who could have secured them the free dom which they seemed to have no desire of for themselves. But see how matters have ended; religion took the present provinces of Austria from an undertaking to which they had first laid their hands, and now they are made use of to oppress Holland. What a contradiction!

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## E T T E R LXXII.

Oftend.

O morrow, brother, I shall fail for England: but before I go, permit me to take one general review of the whole.

Germany, taking in Silefia, is at least one fifth larger than France. It contains about twelve thousand square miles. The soil is very different, in different parts. A great part of it however is productive to a degree which, France and Italy only excepted, is not to be found in any other country in our part of the world. The immense masses of rock in the southern parts of the circles of Austria and Bavaria, and the fands of the north, which almost comprehend the whole circles of Lower Saxony, Brandenburg, Pomerania, the Laufitz, and the north of Westphalia, are not, it is true, capable of fuch cultivation, as the upper parts of Germany; but this would be a great advantage if once the interests of the whole were common. The mountains of the South contain almost every kind Y 2

kind of metal in prodigious quantities, and in the greatest perfection, and the sandy places of the North, together with the best wood for building ships, furnish hemp, slax, and wool, in great abundance.

Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, the archdutchy of Austria, Bavaria, Suabia, the countries about the Rhine, the Auftrian Netherlands, and those parts of the circle of Upper Saxony, which are not in the possession of the King of Prussia, produce corn, cattle, wine, and all the first necessaries of life, in such plenty as not only to be fufficient for the fupply of all Germany, but even for great exportations.-In a word, Germany is the only country in Europe, which is independent of all the world, for a fupply of all the necessaries and conveniences which a large and flourishing state requires, or which a great power stands in need of for its defence. France is deficient in wood, cattle, (particularly horses) the most necessary metals, and linen; and Russia is obliged to import wine, wood, horses for hard service, and various other articles; but Germany has every thing which these two very rich, and, in many respects, very different countries produce, and a great superfluity of what they want befides,

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The last mentioned and best provinces of Germany, contain about 6400 square miles. To judge of the population you must reckon 2500 men for every square mile; at least a variety of different estimates agree in this; and if Bavaria, Hesse, and some other countries fall somewhat below this calculation, others, as Austria, Wirtemberg, the Netherlands, and different parts of the circle of Upper Saxony, go beyond it. This part of Germany contains also about sixteen million of inhabitants.

The other part contains about 5600 fquare miles. It is difficult to estimate the population of this part. Some countries, as for instance Upper Auftria, have 2000 fouls in every square mile. Magdeburgh, Halberstadt, Minden, Brunswick, Hildersheim, and many others have 2500. On the other hand, the Hanoverian dominions, Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg, and many others, have not more than 1000 men in every fquare mile. It is my opinion that in order to estimate the population of this part of Germany, you must reckon 1700 men, for every square mile, which will give 9,500,000 for this part, and make the whole 25,500,000. In his treatise de la Litterature Allemande, the King of Prussia reckons 26,000,000 for the whole country, an estimate which appears to me to come

come nearest to the truth. The manifesto which the Empress of Russia presented to the court of Vienna, on account of the last disturbances about Bavaria, contains these remarkable words. "It is the business of all the powers of Europe to see, that the balance of Germany be not disturbed, for if it be, the strength of the country and its situation will enable it to disturb the peace of all Europe." This is an undeniable truth; France and Italy are the only countries which can vie with Germany in population.

This extensive country has not yet nearly arrived at the degree of cultivation of which it is capable, not even at that of France. The peace of Hubertsburger, is the æra of its cultivation; agriculture and industry have been universal ever since that period.

Germany has taken much larger, and quicker strides to cultivation, than any other European power. It at once exerted all its strength to fill up the gaps which had been made in it by the destructive war of thirty years. The very partition of the country into so many states, prejudicial as it is to the exertion of power for the purpose of foreign conquests, has been of advantage to the internal cultivation. At present the first princes in Germany contend with each other

TRAVELS THROUGH GERMANY. other who shall make the best improvements in the administration of justice, in education, and police, and who shall do most for the promotion of industry and commerce, with as much eagerness, as they formerly contended who should be foremost in pomp and idle magnificence. No where is there so thorough a conviction of the value of men and their different occupations, and no where is there fo great a stir made to improve them for the advantage of the whole as in Germany. With respect to legislation and the true interests of a country, there has been a benevolent light spread in most parts of this empire, which does not only, as in France, point out the gaps, but encourages the princes and their fervants to fill them up. Without a doubt, Germany, as well as the rest of Europe, is much indebted to the King of Prussia, the first practical philosopher, who, in modern times, has been feen on the throne. It was he who began the glorious revolution, which has made fuch changes in Germany during the last twenty years; he taught his neighbours that the interest of princes and their sub-

jects are the same; he began to take off the veil which was thrown over administration; finally, he subdued the little tyrants amongst the priests

and nobility, who fattened on the fubstance of the citizen and peafant. Military as his government may appear to you superficial observers, it is to this military government, and the imitations of it in other countries, that Germany is indebted for a peace of twenty years, which she had not known for many centuries before, and in the course of which she first began to feel what she really was. Perfect legislation, without a doubt, is the fummit of all human attainments; she alone can make us happy; she alone produces fociable men, and estimates the value of them; and how proud ought not Germany to be of Frederick, Joseph, and Catharine, three legislative geniusses existing together at the same period, the like to whom many centuries feldom produce one.

The peculiar turn of the Germans feems to be for philosophy; they are distinguished from all the nations in Europe, for cool and just judgments, united with extreme industry; they were the first who threw a light on mathematics and general physics; next they darted through theology, then history, and finally, legislation, with the same philosophical spirit.—They will do well to leave to other nations the prize of wit, for which they will always contend in vain.

If Germany could make itself one great people; if it was united under one governor; if the present interests of a single prince were not often in opposition to the good of the whole; if all the members were fo well compacted into one body, that the fuperfluous fap of the one could circulate and invigorate the rest, what much greater steps towards cultivation would the empire then make! But then Germany would give laws to all Europe. How powerful, as things even now are, are the two houses of Austria and Brandenburg, the greatness of whose strength confists in their German possessions, and who yet neither poffess the half nor even the best parts of the country. Conceive this country in fuch a fituation as that no burthenfome excise should oppress the internal commerce of the different provinces; no customs should prohibit exports all over the world; in fuch a fituation as that the immense fums that it gives for outlandish commodities, which itself can furnish, should be spared-or that it could become a naval power, for which it has fuch ports and fuch plenty of provisions, that it could itself employ the numerous colonies it fends out to therest of Europe:—conceive this—what country in the world could then cope with Germany?

The character of men depends for the most part on their government. The character of the Germans has in general as little brilliancy in it as the constitution of the empire; they have none of the national pride and patriotism by which the Britons, Spaniards, and our own countrymen are diftinguished, fond as their poets have been, for some time past, of ascribing these qualities to them. Their pride and patriotic fentiments only extend to the part of Germany in which they are born; to the rest of their countrymen they are strange as to any strangers, nay, in feveral parts of Germany, they are much fonder of strangers than they are of their own countrymen. It is the fense of weakness of the leffer powers of Germany which damps their national pride; it is only because Germany cannot use its power altogether, and that other nations feel their strength, that it has been despised by the inhabitants of other countries, who yet have nothing to boast above it, save a faster bond of union among themselves, or a ridiculous pride. We seldom judge of men from their inner worth, fo much as from the external appearance they make in the world. We estimate the Russians. English, &c. according to the idea we have taken up of the whole nation; and though the individual

TRAVELS THROUGH GERMANY. 331 individual may happen to be, as he often is, ten times more barbarous than a German, we give him credit for the fame and worth of his illustrious countrymen.

Though the character of the Germans be not fo brilliant as that of other nations, still it is not destitute of its peculiar excellencies. The German is the man of the world. He lives under every fky, and conquers every natural obstacle to his happiness. His industry is inexhaustible. Poland, Hungary, Russia, the English and Dutch colonies, are much indebted to German emi-Even, the first states in Europe owe to grants. Germany great part of their knowledge. Rectitude is also an almost universal characteriftic of the people of this country; nor are the manners of the peasants and those of the inhabitants of the leffer cities, by any means fo corrupt as those of France and other countries; it is owing to this that, notwithstanding the great emigrations, the country is still so well peopled. To conclude, frugality on the fide of the Protestants, and frankness and goodheartedness on the fide of the Catholics, are brilliant national characteriftics.

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